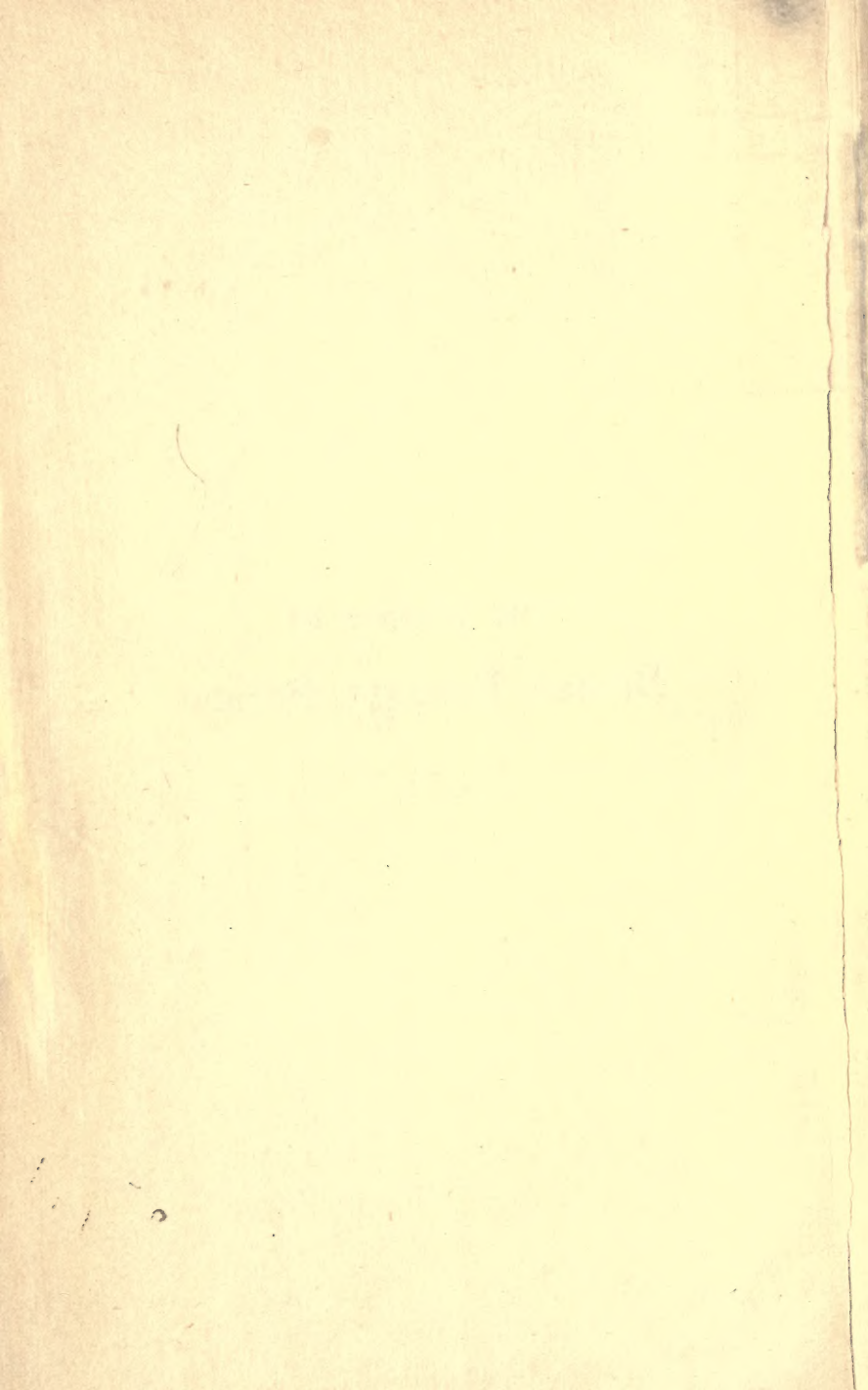


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The History of
British Foreign Policy



The History of British Foreign Policy

From the
Earliest Times to 1912

BY

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PREFACE.

THE absence of a continuous account of the History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain has induced me to attempt to remedy the deficiency. The late Professor Montagu Burrows, formerly Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, published a work on the subject, but it was concerned almost entirely with the foreign policy of England from the Tudors to the accession of Queen Victoria.

In 1895 'The Growth of British Policy,' by the late Sir J. R. Seeley, dealing in brilliant fashion with English Foreign Policy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was published.

In the present work I have endeavoured to give a connected account of the lines along which English foreign policy ran from the time of Athelstan to the present day. The attempt is

no doubt an ambitious one, and I am fully conscious that many defects will be noted.

But I think the time has come for some such presentation of British foreign policy as a whole, and for an account of the continuous development of that policy.

It has often been necessary for Great Britain to prefer "isolation" to unsatisfactory alliances. On certain well-known crises in European history, however, the active intervention of England on the continent, in the interests of the European world no less than in that of England herself, has been demanded.

The attempt of Philip Valois in conjunction with the Count of Flanders to destroy the trade between Flanders and England would, if successful, have established French predominance over the Netherlands. This attempt was one of the causes of the Hundred Years' War.

In the sixteenth century it was not till the danger of Holland falling into the hands of Philip II. became imminent that Elizabeth took definite action.

Again, about a hundred and fifteen years later, the seizure of the Barrier Towns by Louis XIV.

was one of the circumstances which made the Spanish Succession War inevitable; while, as is well known, the French conquest of Flanders in November 1792, and the threatened conquest of Holland, converted England from a passive spectator of the eccentricities of the French Revolutionists into a resolute opponent of the Revolutionary Government.

After the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 Napoleon did not withdraw from Holland in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville; consequently the continuation of peace became impossible, and it was not till 1814-15 that the Allies were able, by uniting Belgium and Holland, to provide, as they hoped, against either country being conquered by a powerful neighbour. Most unfortunately, as it would now seem, this statesmanlike arrangement broke down in 1830, and it is quite possible that one or other of these two States may be exposed to invasion before many years are over.

Under Lord Salisbury, Lord Lansdowne, and Sir Edward Grey, British foreign policy has been characterised by firmness and moderation. The language used has always been calm and unprovocative. Throughout the whole course of modern European history it has been apparent

that continental nations have never been able to understand the British character and temperament. The danger to the peace of Europe lies in the "national self-seeking and ambition of individual Powers," a danger which has been intensified since the Franco-German War of 1870-71.

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CHIEF PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.

DURING the years before the Norman Conquest Period I.,
449-1066. Athelstan, Edgar, and Canute alone of the English kings seem to have had any conception of what is termed foreign policy.

From 1066, the date of the Norman Conquest, Period II.,
1066-1494. however, England's relations with the continent grew close, and gradually her kings became entangled in foreign affairs. The chief continental foe of England during the period from the Norman Conquest to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. was France. The hostility between the two countries was, however, lessened after 1453, when England lost all her French possessions except Calais, and the Treaty of Étapes in 1492 indicated the possibility of a better feeling between the two countries.

Period

III.,

1494-1558.

The years from 1494 to 1558, the date of the accession of Elizabeth, form a somewhat indeterminate period. During Henry VIII.'s reign France and England are at one time on a friendly footing, at another time are at war. But on the whole the old hostility between the two countries was still alive. This was partly due to the strained relations existing between England and Scotland, the connection of which country with France being more than ordinarily close during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. It was also partly due to the aggressive policy of Henry II., whose successes over Charles V., from whom he captured Metz, Toul, and Verdun, encouraged him in supporting Mary, the young Queen of Scots, in marrying her to his son Francis, and in hoping for the complete subordination of England to France.

At the same time the friendship with Spain, which dated from Henry II.'s reign, and which was renewed by Henry VII. and by Henry VIII. before his divorce, was gradually, owing to the Reformation, becoming unpopular in England.

Period IV.,
1558-1603.

From the accession of Queen Elizabeth can be dated the fourth period in England's relations with the Great Powers of Europe. In place of France, the chief enemy of England is Spain,

the fierce representative of the Counter-Reformation. And it was not till after 1588 that all danger from Spain was temporarily over, though with the outbreak of the Spanish Succession War in 1702, Spain again becomes a foe who has to be reckoned with.

The fifth period in England's foreign relations opens with the accession of James I. and continues till 1674. During that period Holland is England's real and most dangerous rival. The triumph over Holland achieved by England in 1674 brought the country face to face with its old enemy, France. Thus the sixth period in England's foreign relations, though usually dated from 1688, in reality begins in 1674.

Period V.,
1603-1674.

Period VI.,
1674-1815.

The actual outbreak of the Second Hundred Years' War, however, does not take place till 1689, and the struggle with France, supported usually by Spain after 1701, continues with various intervals till 1815. The seventh period in the history of Great Britain's foreign policy opens with the fall of Napoleon and the settlement of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. After 1815 the most powerful continental power was undoubtedly Russia. Till the Crimean War Russia to some degree dominated Europe. The alliance of Great Britain, France, Turkey, and

Period
VII.,
1815-1856.

Sardinia, however, checked the aspirations of the Russian Government, restored the balance of power, and saved Turkey.

Period
VIII.,

1856-1871.

The eighth period in Great Britain's foreign policy may be said to begin after the close of the Crimean War, and to end with the establishment of the new German Empire in 1871. It is a period in the history of British foreign policy which does not reflect much credit upon the British Government.

Period IX.,
1871-1912.

After 1871 Great Britain gradually took her share in the settlement of the various issues which came before Europe. The years following saw the colonial expansion of England, France, and Germany; they saw the gradual occupation of Egypt by the British, the division of West Africa between them and the French, an arrangement with Germany with regard to East Africa, the overthrow of Krüger in South Africa, an alliance made by Great Britain with Japan, and friendly understandings arrived at with France and Russia. During this period Great Britain has not been engaged in hostilities with any European Power, though the extension of her colonial dominions has involved her in numerous wars in India and Africa.

PERIOD I.

449-1066.

THE BEGINNING OF ENGLAND'S
FOREIGN POLICY.

CONTENTS.

Early relations of England with the continent—Results of the Danish invasions—The reigns of Athelstan and Edgar—The question of England's position in Europe.

ARGUMENT.

THE Danish invasions led to the earliest important political relations between England and the continent. Nevertheless those relations, at the time of the Norman Conquest, had not developed in any marked degree, and England in 1066 practically remained outside the great European world.

THE BEGINNING OF ENGLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY.

IN a lecture delivered by the late Bishop Stubbs when Professor of Modern History at Oxford, he declared that he would be content if in considering England's foreign policy he found it had been such as to advance the cause of Christianity, rational order, and liberty where her influence has extended, and if he could confidently say that "our fathers in the long-run supported the right cause in the right way," and that "even when they were fighting on the wrong side, fought in good faith and truth, and honour and honesty."

Early
relations
of England
with the
continent.

It cannot be said that England had a foreign policy before the tenth century. Between the period of the arrival of the Germanic tribes in the fifth century and the death of Alfred in 899, England was often closely connected with, and in various ways exerted an influence upon, the continent. In the eighth century, for example, "the influence of England upon the continent,"

in the opinion of Bishop Stubbs, "was greater than that of the continent upon England." In 664 the Council of Whitby had decided that Roman Christianity should prevail in England, and shortly afterwards Archbishop Theodore had begun the definite ecclesiastical organisation of the country. Though England had been converted, Germany remained unconverted, and, imitating the example of Wilfrid, the expelled Archbishop of York, who in 678 preached to the Frisians, numerous English monks betook themselves to a missionary life in Germany. Willibrord in 696 became Bishop of Utrecht, Winfrid or Boniface became Archbishop of Mainz in the following century, and Charles the Great found his work of conquest in Germany much facilitated by the missionary efforts of the monks whom Boniface had planted along the line of his labours. The influence, too, of the West Saxon Alcuin upon Charles the Great must not be overlooked.

Results of
the Danish
invasions.

The Danish attacks upon England, which began in 787, checked the missionary efforts of the English on the continent, and it was not till the reign of Alfred that the Danes were converted. A fresh outburst of missionary zeal followed, and while Sweden was converted in the latter half of the tenth century by Siegfried of York, Norway

and Iceland were converted in the following century.

The zeal for conversion was no doubt one reason for the reputation which a small state, like England, enjoyed on the continent, and which no doubt partly accounts for the marriage of Ethelwulf to Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

But from Alfred's reign onwards marriage alliances became an evidence that the abler West Saxon kings from Alfred onwards recognised that, owing to the danger from the Danes, the western nations must adopt a common policy of resistance to the inroads of the Scandinavian kings. A policy of isolation was no longer possible. The efforts of Edward the Elder and his sister, the Lady of the Mercians, had indeed recovered for the English kingdom all the land south of the Humber, but Athelstan, the Emperor, and the King of France had to face a series of fierce and concentrated attacks on the part of the Northmen.

The reigns
of Athel-
stan and
Edgar.

In face of this danger Athelstan adopted the only possible foreign policy—a policy of alliance with not only the rulers of the Empire, France, Arles, but also with Hugh the Great, Count of Paris. One sister married Otto, who was later

the Emperor Otto the Great, another Charles the Simple, whose son, Louis d'Outremer, was restored to his kingdom by Athelstan's aid, another married the King of Arles, and another Hugh the Great.

Athelstan's victory in 937 over the Northmen and their allies at Brunanburh, a victory facilitated by the friendly attitude of Hywel, the ruler of Wales, finally dissipated all danger to England from foreign foes till the reign of Ethelred II.; and when Edmund became king the English kingdom included Northumbria. The connection with the continent, however, continued to be more or less close till the Norman Conquest. Edgar, whose reign marks "the consummation of English unity," made an alliance with Otto the Great, while Ethelred II., in his despair, appealed for aid to the Norman Duke, whose daughter, Emma, he married.

The
question of
England's
position in
Europe.

The accession of Canute seemed to imply the formation of a northern confederation, of which England should be the head and director. And during the whole of Edward the Confessor's reign and that of Harold, an all-important, nay, vital question for the future of England arose. Was England to be the chief power of a Northern league which might possibly include Flanders,

or was she to throw in her lot with Western Europe, strengthen her connection with the reformed Papacy, and become part of a political system which was influenced by the new religious and political forces?



PERIOD II.

1066-1494.

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE.

CONTENTS.

The results of the Norman Conquest—England under William the Conqueror—The beginning of Anglo-French hostility—William II.'s scheme—The religious revival in Stephen's reign—Importance of Henry II.'s reign—His relations with Spain and Germany—His European position—Richard I.'s aims—The reign of John—Loss of possessions north of the Loire—The battle of Bouvines—Triumph of the Papacy—Henry III.'s foreign policy—Its failure—Treaty of Paris, 1259—The provisions of Oxford—Simon de Montfort—Edward I.'s policy—The Treaty of Amiens—Edward I. and Scotland—Strong rulers required in the 14th century—Danger from France—Growth of a national feeling in England—Opposition to the Papacy—The Hundred Years' War—Its causes—Its early stages—Failure of Edward's foreign policy after 1360—Loss of the command of the sea—Richard II.'s French alliance—Dangers to Henry IV. from abroad—His connection with Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Germany—Importance of his reign—Henry V. and the renewal of the Hundred Years' War—Failure of England's foreign policy, 1435-1453—Edward IV.'s foreign policy—War with Scotland—Edward IV. and Charles II. compared—Henry VII.'s accession and position—Alliance with Spain—Expedition to France—The Treaty of Étaples—Charles VIII.'s expedition to Naples—The close of the Middle Ages.

ARGUMENT.

THE Period from the Norman Conquest to the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494 may be termed the Later Middle Ages.

During the great portion of this period the Holy Roman Empire remained the central organisation of Europe, while feudalism remained till the fifteenth century the basis of the political, social, and economic system of the various kingdoms. On medieval Christendom the Papacy, from the time of Hildebrand till the fourteenth century, wielded immense influence; it was "the chief element in the political system, and was supreme over the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages."

Till the fourteenth century "national particularism was lost in the conception of Christendom as a single community of Christian people."¹

The opening of the Hundred Years' War marks definitely the disappearance from practical politics of the idea of the Unity of Christendom, while the Great Schism of the fourteenth century led to the abasement of the Papacy.

Before the period closes, the transition from the Middle Ages to Modern Times is in full progress, and the principle of unity is rapidly yielding before the growth of individuality.

¹ Terry, 'A Short History of Europe,' p. 1. London: Routledge, 1912.

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE.

WITH the eleventh century Europe entered upon a new period in its history, which is marked by the Crusades. "For six centuries," writes Mr George Peel, "Europe had been in blockade." The advancing tide of barbarism, as represented by the Moslems, Slavs, Hungarians, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, had spent itself, and from the eleventh to the thirteenth century Europe took the aggressive and attacked the Saracens in Palestine and Africa. The Papacy headed the advance of civilisation, and from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. endeavoured to impress the influence of religion upon the leading States of Europe. From the Papal point of view the Norman Conquest of England was a crusade, and as such received full Papal support.

From 1066 to 1453 the hostility between England and France was continuous. At certain epochs it burst out fiercely, each outburst being usually followed by a period when the hostility though latent did not show itself in any active

A new
period in
the history
of Europe.

manner. The character of this hostility, too, varied. William II., Henry II., Edward III., and Henry V. at one time or other during their lives seem to have projected the establishment of a *vast Continental Empire*, controlled from England, while such kings as Henry I., Richard I., Henry III., Edward I., and Henry IV., seemed to be content with maintaining their hold upon their existing possessions in France.

The ambitious policy of William II. was short-lived, that of Henry II. was not in itself specially aggressive, but was the outcome of the position in which he found himself on his accession to the English throne. Edward III.'s policy became aggressive owing to his early successes, while that of Henry V. was the result of careful deliberation, and was the deliberation of an ambitious and aggressive character, owing its success, as did that of Edward III., to the temporary weakness of France.

Though the year 1453 saw the final failure of attempts on the part of England to hold French provinces, the long period of hostility between the two countries left behind it a feeling of antagonism which, in spite of the efforts of such men as Henry VII. and Wolsey, did not tend to become less in any appreciable degree till the reign of Elizabeth.

The Norman Conquest decided that England should lose her insularity and should enter into competition with the nations of Western Europe. To the Norman Conquest she owes her position "in universal history." Somewhat naturally the Papacy regarded William's expedition in the light of a crusade. The ties which bound the English Church to Rome had become slack, and it was only to be expected that the Church of Rome, now under the invigorating influence of Hildebrand, should desire to strengthen those ties. The English Church in 1066 lacked good government: the morals of the clergy required improvement. Was it not natural that a reformer of the type of Hildebrand should desire to see the general subordination of the Church to the State? Lanfranc organised the government of the Church on an improved basis, after the continental plan. Anselm did much to enforce a stricter morality among the clergy, but Becket, in spite of his efforts, failed to carry out the third point of Hildebrand's policy—the subordination of the Church to the State.

The
results
of the
Norman
Conquest.

The Norman Conquest thus brought England into close touch with the best features of Western civilisation, and, owing to the fact that the Norman and Angevin kings held Normandy, into very close relations with the growing kingdom of France.

Though William I.'s reign affords indications of the character of the foreign policy of England during the ensuing five hundred years, William himself was content not only to show forbearance in his dealings with Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, but also to abstain from any serious undertakings on the continent. To the efforts of individual barons a considerable advance in Wales was mainly due, while the building of Newcastle in 1080 showed the intention of William not to allow the Scottish kings to occupy land south of the Tyne. The subjugation of Ireland was left to a later generation.

We can see in William's reign the indications of the lines along which the foreign policy of his successors would in great measure proceed.

Towards the end of his reign he was indeed threatened with an attack from Flanders, while at the same time discontent in Maine began to show itself. But the only result of the threatened attack from Flanders, in which Cnut of Denmark was prevented by his death in 1085 from taking part, was the preparation of Domesday Book.

William's insistence on personally administering Normandy and Maine, though nominally their government was under his son Robert, provoked

the latter to raise rebellions, in suppressing the second of which William suffered injuries near Nantes, from which he died in 1087. These rebellions of Robert, aided as he was by the sympathy of, and at times by actual assistance from, the French king, indicated the opening of a period of hostility between England and France which only ceased for a time to be active in 1453, when the English were expelled from all their possessions in France save Calais.

Thus at the time of William's death England was interested in, and closely connected with, two continental powers, Rome and France. With Rome quarrels continually took place over the intermittent efforts of successive Popes to increase their influence in England; with France the quarrel which began in William I.'s reign developed steadily into an antagonism between the two countries which, in spite of occasional peaceful interludes before and after 1453, practically continued to the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and broke out again under new conditions after the Revolution of 1688.

In various ways the inevitable hostility between England and France showed itself during the period when England was ruled by the three Norman successors to William the Conqueror.

The
beginning
of Anglo-
French
hostility.

Twice did William II. engage in continental wars,—in 1090-1 against his brother Robert of Normandy, and between 1096 and 1100, during the greater part of which period (November 1097 to September 1098) he was opposed by Louis, the active son of Philip, King of France. It would seem that towards the end of his life William Rufus adopted ambitious schemes of foreign policy, aiming, it is said, at the conquest of France. But these schemes came to nothing. Louis' activity in the Vexin was coincident with an attempt of Hélias de la Flèche to secure the independence of Maine. Twice was William compelled to visit Maine to resist his audacious vassal. Shortly before his death Rufus indeed planned an expedition to Aquitaine which, with Poitou, was about to be mortgaged to him by William of Poitou. The danger to the centralising projects of the rulers of France, had Rufus carried out his ambitious schemes, would have been great. But fortunately for the young kingdom of France, William died in 1100 before he had time to found a continental empire and to occupy a position somewhat similar to that afterwards held by Henry II.

Nevertheless the dream of Rufus of establishing a kind of "premature imperialism" such as Henry II. established is interesting, and to some

extent justifies the optimistic expectations of the historian William of Malmesbury.¹

The reigns of Henry I. and Stephen mark a comparatively tranquil period in the relations of England and France. The first two Crusades occupied the minds of the more warlike section of Frenchmen, while the non-ambitious policy of Henry I., of Roger of Salisbury, of Louis VI., and of Suger, no less than the civil war in Stephen's reign, turned men's minds in both France and England from the question of war between the two countries. Thus from the death of William II. to the accession of Henry II. there is a lull in the hostility between the English and French kingdoms.

The period covered by Stephen's reign, while not remarkable for any illustrations of that hostility, is notable owing to the rapid increase of the Papal power in England. The religious revival already illustrated by the Crusades showed itself also in the foundation of numerous new religious orders, several of which settled in England and used their influence for the extension of the Papal authority. The religious movement led to the establishment in England of the Carthusians, the Cistercians,

The 12th century religious revival.

¹ Davis, 'England under the Normans and Angevins,' p. 116. London : Methuen.

and other monastic orders, and "from the religious revival there sprang a revived interest in literature and speculation."

Import-
ance of
Henry II.'s
reign.

The accession to the English throne of Henry II., who was also Duke of Aquitaine, "made the Bay of Biscay in a sense territorial waters,"¹ but no definite claim to dominion was made prior to the reign of John, when England's maritime interests were first regarded as of special value.

The reign of Henry II. is of immense importance in the history of England's relations with foreign countries, no less than with the growing Papal power. The Norman Conquest had indeed settled that England's chief interests were to lie chiefly in the west and not in the north of Europe, and already before Henry II.'s reign there were numerous indications of the character which the relations of England with foreign powers would assume.

Henry II. found on his accession that he had not only to carry out a difficult foreign policy abroad, but he had also to check the steady advance of the Papal power in England. The authority of the Papacy over England had already begun to be somewhat strictly exercised, and it necessarily followed that resistance to Papal de-

¹ 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 438, p. 362.

mands for money and to Papal claims would be not infrequent.

The accession of Henry II. made it quite apparent that the attitude of the Papacy and the growth of the pretensions of the clergy during Stephen's reign rendered necessary the enactment of such checks upon their power as are contained in the Constitutions of Clarendon issued in 1165. Both Henry and Frederick Barbarossa were during their reigns engaged in combating Papal pretensions. Henry's accession also marked a very important epoch in England's relations with France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, and it was certain that as long as England held any possessions in France, friction between the two countries would ensue.

With Germany and Spain Henry remained on good terms. Intimate and friendly relations, commercial and otherwise, sprang up between those countries and England, which with few interruptions continued in the case of Spain till the Tudor period, in the case of Germany till the close of the Seven Years' War.

Henry's daughter, Matilda, married Henry the Lion of Saxony, an influential prince, who eventually had to acknowledge the superior power of the Emperor. The marriage of Eleanor, Henry's

second daughter, to Alfonso VIII., King of Castile, and the betrothal of Richard, his second son, to an Aragonese princess, marked the beginning of close relations with Spain, while the marriage of Joanna, Henry's third daughter, to William the Good of Sicily, brought England into close and most interesting relations with the south of Italy.

His continental position.

Henry II. through his parents and wife obtained Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Aquitaine. The King of France possessed a territory of small dimensions, including the cities of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, and Amiens, a minute kingdom compared with the vast empire of Henry II. Moreover it must be noted that the possession of the Duchy of Aquitaine implied the possession of Poitou, Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, and Gascony, claims on Toulouse, and an implied suzerainty over the country on the west bank of the Rhone.

The marriages of his sons, too, seemed likely to strengthen his position in France. His eldest son, Henry, who died in 1183, married a French princess. Richard, his second son, was betrothed to an Aragonese princess, and Geoffrey, his third son, married Constance, heiress of Brittany.

His European position was one of seemingly

unsurpassed greatness and brimful of possibilities. Compared with him the King of France was of little account, and yet before Henry's reign was concluded the French king had shown that he had to be reckoned with. Though Louis VII. was unable to offer any effective resistance to Henry's schemes, his successor, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), proved a stubborn antagonist, and was destined before his death to unite with the kingdom of France all Henry's possessions north of the Loire.

Richard I. at the close of his reign realised that the constantly encroaching policy of Philip Augustus was a serious danger to the possessions of England in France, and he endeavoured to check his hostile designs by building Château Gaillard to defend Normandy, and by forming a league which included the Emperor Otto IV. and the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Brittany.

Richard
I.'s aims.

Richard's death took place before the league could be set in motion, but in the later years of his reign John endeavoured, though in vain, to carry out Richard's policy.

In spite of the evil reputation which attaches to John's reign, there seems ample proof that the king was possessed of qualities which almost amounted to statesmanship. It is said, with some

The reign
of John.

justice, that he was the first since the Norman Conquest who understood the value and importance of shipping in trade or in war. His keen eye saw that the near mouth of the Mersey was an admirable site for a town. He was unfortunate in having to attempt the impossible task of holding provinces in the north of France when, under an able king, that country was rapidly developing into a strong consolidated monarchy.

The French conquest of Normandy was completed in 1204. It proved a most momentous event in English history. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine fell easily into the hands of Philip VI. Most of Poitou also submitted in 1204 and 1205. But in Poitou resistance to the French king continued, and the Poitevins who remained faithful to John received ample encouragement from the great communes of Gascony. Bordeaux and Bayonne never wavered in their fidelity to England. "In consequence the whole of Gascony was saved, and enough of Poitou to make the recovery of that province appear a possibility."¹

In 1212 and 1213 John had good hopes of recovering his French possessions. A European coalition, on the lines of the one which existed

¹ Davis, 'England under the Normans and Angevins,' p. 345. London : Methuen.

at the time of Richard I.'s death, was revived, and seemed to contain in it the elements of success. It included the Emperor Otto IV., who, like John, had quarrelled with the Pope (the supporter of Frederick of Sicily in his claim to the Imperial throne), Ferrand of Flanders, Raymond of Toulouse, Reginald of Boulogne, the Duke of Lorraine, the Counts of Louvain, Lorraine, and Var, and other discontented lords. Most of these princes, like John, had been excommunicated by Innocent III. Though involved in a serious quarrel with his barons, John hoped that the approaching crisis at home might be averted by a successful war against the French king. Consequently, in January 1214, he sent his half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury—who the previous year had checked an invasion by Philip of Flanders, by destroying about 100 of his transports in the channel at Damme (the port of Bruges) and capturing 300 more¹—to co-operate in Flanders with Otto IV. and Count Ferrand, while he himself, in February, sailed to Poitou. Between John on the Loire and the coalition on the north-eastern frontier of France, Philip was to be crushed. Leaving a discontented

¹ Ever since the destruction of the French fleet at Damme, England's power has been based on her navy.

baronage behind in England, John thus staked all upon the success of his foreign policy. That policy, however, failed, and its failure had far-reaching results.

The importance of the battle of Bouvines, 1214.

The defeat of the Imperial, Flemish, and English forces at Bouvines on July 27, 1214, by Philip Augustus, was an event of supreme importance. In fact, Bouvines might well be numbered among the decisive battles in European history, for few medieval battles had more striking and lasting results. It went far to establish firmly the rising French monarchy, whose possession of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine was now accepted by England as an accomplished fact; it placed on the Imperial throne Frederick II., the eventual failure of whose career settled the future course of the history of Germany; it gave England Magna Carta. Moreover, it hastened the process by which France and England became consolidated kingdoms.

The triumph of the Papacy in John's reign.

The reign of John also witnessed the complete triumph of the Papacy so far as England was concerned. Both England and Ireland became tributary to the Papacy, which, under Innocent III. and his immediate successors, rose to the height of its power. From the Norman Conquest to the accession of Henry III. the influence of the

Papacy had steadily been increasing in Europe generally as well as in England. The great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, begun in the time of Hildebrand, was to end in the momentary triumph of Rome, a triumph marked by the death of Frederick II. in 1250, and by the death of Conraddin after the battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268.

But as far as England was concerned the Papal power reached its limits in John's reign, and henceforward there is a steady diminution of its influence among laymen in this island.

Of this inevitable change in the relations of England and the Papacy Henry III. was absolutely ignorant. Deeply religious himself, he offered no opposition to the introduction of Papal Italian nominees to places of ecclesiastical preferment, nor did he support the clergy in their remonstrances against Papal pecuniary demands.

Though closely related to Frederick II. he sympathised with the successive Popes who gradually beat down the Imperial resistance, with the result that a strong German monarchy was never able to establish itself before 1871.

While thus acting towards the Papacy in a manner not calculated to win the favour of his subjects, Henry entered upon a course of foreign

Henry
III.'s
foreign
policy.

policy which was doomed to failure. During his reign Europe not only witnessed the rapidly lessening interest in the crusading movement, of which one illustration was the capture of Constantinople in 1204 (and not the capture of Jerusalem) by the crusaders of the Fourth Crusade, and of which another illustration was the failure of Louis IX. in his efforts in 1248 and 1270 against the Saracens; it also saw the rise of the French monarchy to a position of pre-eminence in Europe under Philip Augustus, Louis IX., and Philip le Bel.

Though Hubert de Burgh, the minister of Henry III., might fondly hope to see England regain possession of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and though Henry III. might look forward to regaining full possession of Poitou, their efforts and hopes were destined to meet with disappointment. Sooner or later, too, the growth of national feeling in France would result in the inclusion within the French monarchy of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony.

Both Louis VIII. and Louis IX. proved strong enough to check the designs of the English ministers and king, though neither of the French monarchs could make much headway in Gascony and Guienne. The Gascons had no love for

France. The men of Bordeaux scoffed at the idea of making submission to either French king. In both Guienne and Gascony the inhabitants preferred the easy connection with England to inclusion in the French kingdom. A profitable wine trade with England would be endangered by union with the French monarchy.¹ And, moreover, like the Huguenots and Girondists of later times, the men of Guienne and Gascony already harboured something akin to more modern republican views.

Poitou did indeed, in 1241, realise, too late, the growing strength of the French supremacy. It formed a league, obtained the support of the Gascons, and secured the help of Henry III. But Henry was defeated in the battle of Taillebourg; Poitou passed into the hands of the French monarchy, and the English hold on Gascony was for the time weakened. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, managed, however, between 1248 and 1252 to restore order and English prestige in Gascony, which was still further strengthened in 1254 by the marriage of Henry's son, Lord Edward (Lord of Gascony), to Eleanor, sister of Alfonso of Castile.

The
Treaty
of Paris,
1259.

¹ Davis, 'England under the Normans and Angevins,' p. 345.
London: Methuen.

At the end of 1259 the provisional government of England—the Fifteen—concluded the Treaty of Paris with Louis IX. By this treaty Henry III. formally renounced all claim to Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. Gascony he kept, and “the cities and dioceses of Limoges, Cahors, and Perigord, on condition of doing homage as a peer of France for all that he thus retained or received.”¹

Henry's
failure as
king.

Thus by 1259 Henry's foreign policy had notoriously failed, and by his religious no less than his foreign policy he had alienated both barons and Church. By allowing the Papal nomination to bishoprics and livings, and the consequent introduction of many Italians into England, he aroused the indignation of the clergy whose opposition was led by Grosseteste. By admitting, first, crowds of Poitevins and Bretons, and after his marriage with Eleanor of Provence in 1236, hosts of Provençals, he alienated the baronage, who naturally objected to the arrival of hosts of needy foreigners.

The Pro-
visions of
Oxford,
1258.

This union of the discontented clergy with the discontented baronage was illustrated by the provisions of Oxford.

¹ Davis, 'England under the Normans and Angevins,' p. 454. London: Methuen.

The acceptance of the Sicilian crown in 1254 by Henry for his son Edmund had threatened to involve England in unknown financial responsibilities, and the determination of the barons at Oxford to put the crown into commission was justified.

The evident intention of the majority of the barons to ignore the execution of necessary reforms for the benefit of the nation brought to the front Simon de Montfort, who, supported by the knights, the friars, the inarticulate masses, and a portion of the baronage, endeavoured to ensure good government in the future. Prince Edward himself took up the cause of reform, and the national confidence was transferred to him. De Montfort perished, but his work was continued by Edward I.

Simon de
Montfort's
position.

Before Edward I. reached home on his way from Sicily, where, in 1273, he heard of his father's death, he was involved in the meshes of foreign policy. At Paris, where he met the astute Philip III., he found that the affairs of Aquitaine were by no means settled. The Treaty of Paris in 1259 had not been properly carried out, and many points in connection with it required to be settled. Philip had occupied the Agenais, Lower Quercy, and Saintonge south of the Charente,—all of

Edward
I.'s policy.

which belonged rightfully to England. From Paris Edward proceeded to Gascony, and did not arrive in England till August 1274. His stay in France had made clear to him the inveterate hostility of Philip III., and the advisability of strengthening his own connection with the empire. At the close of the Great Interregnum in 1274, Edward at once entered into friendly relations with Rudolf of Hapsburg, the newly-elected emperor. He also strengthened his connection with his brother-in-law, Alfonso of Castile, whose hostility to France showed itself in 1276, when war broke out between the two countries. In May 1279, however, Edward and Philip agreed to the Treaty of Amiens. Philip ceded Agen and the Agenais, and agreed upon an enquiry being instituted into Edward's claim upon Lower Quercy. The Treaty of Amiens "was a real triumph for English diplomacy."¹

Edward I.
and Scot-
land.

In Britain itself Edward experienced great difficulties in attempting to consolidate the whole island. He did, indeed, unite Wales firmly to the English crown, but he failed in his Scottish policy. In 1295 Scotland and France made an alliance which continued till the reign of Elizabeth, and

¹ Tout, 'The Political History of England, 1216-1377,' vol. iii. p. 145. London: Longmans, 1905.

this alliance tended at times to be a hindrance to the adoption and execution by England of a successful foreign policy. In Edward's reign, too, is to be noticed the close and cordial relations existing between England and Flanders—the importance of maintaining which relations was emphatically recognised in the reigns of Edward III., Elizabeth, William III., and George III. In 1300 Edward, carrying on what was probably the policy of John, made a claim which has an important bearing on English foreign policy, especially in the reign of James I. and Charles I. In that year it was asserted that the kings of England . . . from “a time whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, had been in peaceable possession of the sovereign lordship of the sea of England and of the isles within the same,” and this claim was repealed several times in Edward II.'s reign, and very definitely in the reign of Edward III.¹

It was quite apparent at the close of Edward I.'s reign that both with regard to home and foreign politics England required a succession of strong rulers. A series of strong rulers in England necessary.

At home the thirteenth century had been a period of growth, and in 1295 the appearance of

¹ See 'Edinburgh Review,' 438, p. 363.

the Model Parliament testified to the fact that the constitution was now firmly set up. But much required to be done to make that constitution workable, and the fourteenth century was consequently a period of adjustment. A series of strong kings was required to hold the balance between the classes, to prevent the barons from seizing the government of the country, to force the clergy, now tending more and more to draw nearer to Rome, to take their share in the work of the nation.

The
danger
from
France.

Equally with regard to foreign politics was a strong king necessary. The history of the English domains in France since the reign of Richard I. was a history of successful aggression on the part of the French kings. The ambitious views of Philip Augustus were in many respects similar to those held by Charles the Great and Napoleon; the skill and sagacity of Louis IX. added to the kingdom of France; the hostility and aggressive designs of Philip le Bel (1285-1314) were openly avowed. During Edward I.'s reign the aggressive nature of the French monarchy was clearly revealed. In 1295 Philip broke the Treaty of Amiens signed in 1279, declared war upon England, and formed the famous alliance between France and Scotland; in 1305 Clement V. settled at Avignon.

At the time of his death in 1307 Edward had failed to carry out his great design of "union within the four seas," while in 1314, the date of Philip le Bel's death, France was the leading power in Europe. Philip had, indeed, failed to subjugate the Flemings, but he had encroached upon the English possessions in the south of France, he had practical control of the Pope, he had formed an alliance with the Scots, in 1308 he put forward the candidature of Charles of Valois to the imperial throne. It was quite evident that a fierce struggle between England and France was inevitable.

Before that struggle known as the Hundred Years' War broke out, the Babylonish captivity, as the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon from 1305 to 1376 was termed, marked the opening of a serious revolt among many Englishmen from the Papacy.

Growth of
national
feeling in
England.

Both the war with France and the revolt from Papal dominance indicated and illustrated the growth of national feeling in England. The use of English in the law courts, the writings of Chaucer and Piers Plowman, are, like the career of Wycliffe, proofs that the English people were feeling themselves to be a nation, just as the determination of the French to expel the Eng-

lish from Guienne and Gascony showed that in France the national spirit was resolved to assert itself.

Summary
of the
political
and
religious
situation
at the
opening of
the 14th
century.

Thus, with the opening of the fourteenth century, the inevitable tendency of England's foreign policy is apparent. The determination of the French kings to drive out the English from south-western France has been clearly apparent, but had failed in Edward I.'s reign; it again showed itself while Edward II. was on the English throne, and it led to the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.

Similarly, the determination of such men as Archbishops Kilwardby, Peckham, and Winchelsea, "to set the priesthood above the secular power," together with the abuse of Church privileges by wealthy, haughty, idle prelates, often struggling for political place, as well as the decline in the character of the friars, "now often mere lusty beggars and rollicking imposters," roused amongst Englishmen "a patriotic feeling against ecclesiastical supremacy or ecclesiastical independence." Thus there arose on the one hand a growing distrust of the Papal system and a strong opposition to Papal encroachments.

Edward I.'s policy had thus failed in two important respects. The clergy, now tending to

become un-national and Papal, refused to form part of his Parliamentary scheme, and "took refuge in their own Houses of Convocation," while his aggressions, followed by Edward II.'s failure at Bannockburn, contributed to make Scotland into a nation, with the result that Scottish independence became a serious matter for English kings till the accession of Elizabeth.

The weakness of Edward II.'s foreign policy and his inability to govern is illustrated not only in his relations with France and Scotland, but also in the case of Wales. There the rising of Llywelyn Bren in 1316 was symptomatic of the general feeling of discontent and unrest in Edward's realm.

The reign of Edward III. illustrated the strength of Scottish independence, no less than the decline of Papal influence, and the determination of the French to expel the English from their borders.

The causes of the Hundred Years' War, which marked the disappearance of the idea of a limited Christendom and the opening of a new era in the history of national independence, can be traced from the Norman Conquest. It was inevitable, as the French kings steadily extended and consolidated their kingdom, that they should come into conflict with the English kings so long as

The causes
of The
Hundred
Years'
War.

the latter held vast possessions in France. It was therefore only to be expected that Philip Valois would use all possible means to expel the English from Guienne and Gascony, and to unite all south-west France in the French monarchy. To effect this he naturally seized upon every opportunity to hamper the English, and to compel them to employ their energies in Scotland and elsewhere while he continued his aggressions in Gascony.

During the first ten years of Edward III.'s reign there was thus in the eyes of Englishmen several adequate reasons for embarking in war with France. In the disputed succession question in Scotland Edward aided Balliol in opposition to David Bruce, who was supported by the French king. It was essential to Edward to weaken the traditional alliance between the French and Scottish courts.

Edward's hopes of establishing firmly his influence over Scotland were, however, soon dissipated. The Scots resented his interference, in 1338 he was compelled to devote his chief attention to France, and Balliol shortly afterwards lost his Scottish throne.

While Edward was endeavouring to strengthen himself in the direction of Scotland, and before he

could regard his overlordship as in any way established, he was compelled to resist the influence of France in Flanders. Between England and Flanders a close commercial intercourse had sprung up, and already it was so important that resistance to French supremacy in Flanders was imperative. On the other hand, Louis of Nevers, Count of Flanders, was allied to the French king, and in 1336 the count prohibited all commercial relations between Flanders and England. Edward's prohibition of the export of wool from England "provoked an economic crisis in Ghent and Ypres";¹ his action was followed by the conclusion of a commercial treaty with the Duke of Brabant, and Antwerp became "the staple of English wools."

The years 1336 and 1337 were consequently years of immense importance in English history. Philip was now supporting the Scottish opponents of Balliol and Edward III., he was engaged in active measures in Aquitaine, he was encouraging the Count of Flanders in his opposition to England.

At the same time, while matters had thus reached this acute stage, Robert of Artois, who had been expelled from France, was doing his

The opening of the war, 1337.

¹ Tout, 'The Political History of England, 1216-1377,' vol. iii. pp. 332-334. London: Longmans, 1905.

utmost to incite Edward to enter upon war with Philip, in order to claim the French crown, which, he asserted, belonged to the English king by hereditary right.

War in 1337 had become inevitable, and its opening was marked by the formation of an English alliance with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria and with the Counts of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, and by the definite forfeiture by Philip of Gascony and Ponthieu.

Thus while the war was in one respect an attempt of Edward to assert his claim to the French throne, in another and more important respect it was a commercial war, undertaken to secure English trade with Flanders and the southwest of France.

The main
events of
the war
from 1337
to 1360.

Till the year 1360, when the Treaty of Calais put into final form most of the terms arranged a few months earlier at Bretigny, Edward III.'s foreign policy proved extraordinarily successful. The victory of Sluys in 1340 saved England from all danger of a French invasion, though the subsequent attempt to invade France from the Netherlands ended in failure, and was followed by the loss of the Flemish alliance in 1343.

The second phase of the campaign against Philip Valois was more successful. In 1345

Henry of Grosmont, Earl of Derby, gained some considerable advantages in Gascony and Guienne, winning the battle of Auberoche on October 21, and in 1346 he captured the important town of Aiguillon, and advanced into Poitou. He thus prepared the way for the later exploits of the Black Prince in southern France.

Meanwhile Edward, who landed in Nor-
mandy in July 1346, had captured Calais and
advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris. On
August 26 he won the battle of Crécy, and on
October 17 David, King of Scotland, was defeated
in the battle of Neville's Cross. The Franco-
Scottish Alliance, which had come into existence
in 1295, thus received a crushing blow similar
to that which it met with in 1513 at Flodden.
Calais after a famous siege fell into Edward's
hands on August 3, 1347. Success had so far
attended Edward's foreign policy. The English
arms had triumphantly supported Montfort in
his struggle with Charles of Blois in Brittany;
Lancaster had taken Aiguillon. Edward had won
Crécy and captured Calais, Queen Philippa had
gained Neville's Cross, and David of Scotland
was, like Charles of Blois, a prisoner in England.
Similar successes marked the early years of the
reign of Henry VI.

Battles of
Crécy,
Halidon
Hill, and
Poitiers,—
Calais
taken.

After the capture of Calais the outbreak of the Black Death gave the combatants a respite, but from 1350 fighting went on continuously, and that year was rendered famous by a naval victory over a Spanish fleet off Winchelsea—a victory as complete as that won over the Spanish Armada in the sixteenth century. The victory of Poitiers in 1356 made any further resistance to Edward useless, and found the Scottish and French kings ready to accept peace on Edward III.'s terms. The Treaty of Berwick with David in 1357 was followed by the Treaties of Bretigny and Calais in 1360.

Failure of
Edward
III.'s
foreign
policy
after 1360.

The foreign policy of Edward III. had so far been almost uniformly successful. But it was impossible to prevent the early renewal of the war which reopened in 1369, and continued without intermission till the Truce of Bruges in 1375. Very striking is the contrast between the position of England and France in 1360 and in 1375. In 1360, while France was plunged in misery, England appeared to be strong and flourishing under the influence of a patriotic movement, of which the leading representative is the poet Chaucer.

In 1369, however, when the war was renewed, France was witnessing in her midst the beginning

of a similar patriotic and national movement, the aim of which was the expulsion of the English from France. Till 1372 the struggle was maintained without either side winning any signal advantage. But in June 1372 the English fleet was destroyed off La Rochelle by a powerful Spanish fleet, and having lost the command of the sea it became impossible for the English to retain Gascony, especially as the English army in the south of France was much weakened. The expedition of the Prince of Wales in 1367 to aid Pedro the Cruel in Spain had ruined his health. His sack of Limoges did not increase his popularity, and in 1371 he had returned to England. Under his successors the ruin of the English power in France was rapidly completed in the years following the battle of La Rochelle. The Truce of Bruges in 1375 left Edward III. in possession of little more than Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Brest.

During the ensuing twenty years England had to suffer from the failure of the foreign policy of Edward III. "Almost every year," we are told, "the coasts were insulted by the French." It is true a naval victory was won off Cadsand in 1387, but there was constant fear in England lest the French should invade and conquer the country.

The effects
of the
failure of
Edward
III.'s
foreign
policy.

Not only were the French active in the Channel ; in 1385 a French force arrived in Scotland, and consequently Richard II. led an army across the Border, and Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee were burned. In revenge for this invasion the Scots in their turn invaded England in 1388, and defeated Hotspur in the battle of Otterburn (Chevy Chase). Thus England during the later years of Edward III. and nearly the whole of the reign of Richard II. was compelled to act on the defensive, and realised the import of the Franco-Scottish alliance.

Richard
II.'s
French
alliance.

In 1396, however, there came another lull in the long and weary war. In that year Richard took as his second wife Isabelle, daughter of the French king, and a truce with France was arranged for thirty years.

Henry
IV.'s
position.

The deposition of Richard II. and the accession of Henry IV., however, brought that truce to an end, and till 1407, when the French became occupied with the dissensions between the Burgundians and Armagnacs, England was constantly liable to attacks from France. Moreover, during the greater part of his reign Wales, owing to the ability of Owain Glyndwr, was practically independent, for the Welsh leader seized every opportunity to ally with England's enemies, and to endeavour

to secure the permanent independence of his country.

The early years of Henry's reign were thus beset with difficulties. Norman privateers ravaged the towns on the south coast, the Welsh won successes, the Percies after 1402 joined Glyndwr, and in 1403 Henry had to face a league composed of the Welsh, the French, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Douglas. The victory of Shrewsbury in 1403 relieved him for a time, but Glyndwr remained unconquered, and in 1404 made a formal alliance with the French king whose uncle, the Duke of Orleans, as a relation of Richard's second wife, had become the implacable foe of the Lancastrian king.

Dangers to
Henry IV.
from
France,
Wales, and
Scotland.

In 1405 a French force landed in Wales and advanced nearly as far as Worcester. Henry, however, had driven Northumberland into Scotland, and the French expedition proved a failure. By 1408 he had averted all fear of future troubles from the north of England and from Scotland by his capture in 1406 of James, heir to the Scottish throne, and by his victory of Bramham Moor.

Henceforward till the end of his reign Henry was secure on the throne, and his foreign policy became on the whole defensive, though in his later years he sent expeditions to France to aid the

Duke of Burgundy in 1411 and the Duke of Orleans in 1412. Owing to the feud between the Burgundians and Orleanists or Armagnacs, England was safe from all danger of foreign invasion. Moreover, in 1413 the English king's claim to the French crown and to the lands ceded in 1360 at Bretigny and Calais was reasserted.

Con-
nection
of
England
with Spain,
Portugal,
Denmark,
and Ger-
many.

During his reign England was connected by marriages with Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Germany. Philippa and Katharine, sisters of Henry, married respectively João, King of Portugal, and Enrique II., King of Castile, while Blanche, his eldest daughter, married Lewis, Count Palatine, and Philippa, who distinguished herself by her courage, married Eric VII., King of Denmark.

From the Portuguese marriage sprang the line of Portuguese kings, while the Spanish marriage emphasised the connection between England and Spain which originated in the reign of Henry II. and had latterly become closer owing to the marriage of John of Gaunt with Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

Import-
ance of
Henry
IV.'s
reign.

"The unquiet time of King Henry the Fourth," says Hall, was followed by "the victorious acts of King Henry the Fifth." Henry IV. had in various ways laid the foundations of the foreign policy of

his son, who could look forward to freedom from attacks from Scotland and freedom from baronial risings in England.

In entering upon war with France Henry V. was acting in accordance with the accepted views of his day. But his reasons for attacking France were somewhat different from those of the ordinary Englishman. He seems to have indulged in dreams of a united Christendom, towards the attainment of which ideal he would act alternately as a crusading "patron of Holy Church, and as a divinely appointed instrument for the chastisement of a sinful France."¹

Renewal
of the
Hundred
Years'
War.

Having suppressed the Lollard movement, Henry at once entered upon war with France, won Agincourt, and in 1420 secured, by the Treaty of Troyes, the complete submission of the French nation. His success, and the ascendancy of the English monarchy in France till the Congress of Arras, was in some measure due to the alliance with the Duke of Burgundy.

At the Conference of Arras in 1435 the French offered England the greater part of Normandy. But the English envoys adopted an impracticable attitude, and as an English historian has said, "fifteen years later an Englishman would groan at

Gradual
failure of
English
foreign
policy,
1435-1453

¹ Radford, 'Henry Beaufort.' London: Pitman, 1908.

the thought of what had been refused at Arras.”¹ After the close of the Conference of Arras in September 1435, the English nation soon realised their mistake in pursuing an unattainable ideal.

Burgundy was no longer an ally, a national spirit had arisen in France, and the death of Bedford was followed by divided counsels at home. A successful foreign policy under these circumstances was impossible.

In 1436 and 1437 occurred a short war with Scotland, the only importance of which was that it indicated that the connection of France and Scotland still continued in full force.

Till 1441 Gloucester and Beaufort contended for the chief power in England, but in that year Gloucester was discredited and the predominance of the Beaufort party was assured. That party was anxious to effect a pacification with France; but even in 1441, when England's chances of success were hopeless, the English nation still favoured war and persisted in holding a “vicious, sturdy, unintelligent hatred” of the idea of peace. The French attacks on Normandy and Guienne were but feebly resisted, and such raids as the Duke of Somerset made into Anjou and Maine in 1443 were of no avail.

¹ Ramsay, ‘Lancaster and Yorks.’ vol. i. p. 472.

With Somerset's death in May 1444, and the retirement of Beaufort from active political life, the Duke of Suffolk became the leader of the Beaufort party. In 1445 Henry VI. married Margaret of Anjou, but the marriage in no way benefited the English cause in France. The Truce of Tours had been made in May 1444, but it was of no advantage to the English, who broke it in 1449. The defeat at Formigny in April 1450 not only meant the loss to England of Normandy; it was followed by the overthrow of Talbot at Castillon or Châtillon in July 1453, and the expulsion of the English from Southern France. In 1453 Calais was the only possession in France held by England.

Close
of the
Hundred
Years'
War.

As soon as Edward IV. was firmly established on the throne he adopted a popular anti-French policy. He refused to marry a French princess, and his sister Margaret married Charles the Bold, the opponent of Louis XI. By allying with the ruler of Flanders, and by taking up a position of hostility to the French king, Edward was adopting a popular policy. But with France consolidated under an astute monarch such as was Louis XI. there was no possibility of the recovery of the English king's "Title to the Crown and Land" of a country which was stronger and more united

Edward
IV.'s
foreign
policy.

than England. Charles the Bold proved an untrustworthy ally, and Edward was glad to make in August 1475 the Treaty of Pecquigny with Louis XI. and to return to England with a large sum of money. The attempt to regain any of the possessions of Eleanor of Aquitaine had failed.

War with
Scotland,
1480-1482.

That Edward made no further attempts to invade France was probably due to his desire to intervene in Scottish affairs, to assert English suzerainty over Scotland, and to recover Berwick, which since 1461 had been in the hands of the Scots. The war upon which he embarked in 1480, 1481, and 1482 proved on the whole successful. Though Edward's claim to suzerainty was not recognised, Berwick was handed back to the English, and the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1482 closed a satisfactory war. It is thought that Edward's reason for accepting the Scottish terms so readily was in order that he might prepare for the resumption of hostilities with France.

Com-
parison of
Edward
IV. with
Charles II.

His death, however, took place in April 1483 before his plans were completed. His position as king has been compared with that of Charles II. Both kings ascended the throne after a revolutionary period, both were pensioners of French kings, both were idle and selfish, both

were interested in learning and possessed more intelligence than the majority of their contemporaries. The courts of both kings were immoral, while at the same time learning and the love of literature was a characteristic of both reigns. Under both kings, in the case of Charles II., notably after 1674, opposition to France was a leading characteristic of the national feeling in England.¹

The weakness of England on the continent had been exposed under both Henry VI. and Edward IV. She no longer occupied a position on the continent equal to that held by France and to be held shortly by Spain. The events following the death of Edward IV. still further revealed her weakness. At the time of the accession of Henry VII. it seemed that the Crown of England might fall to any bold adventurer. Fortunately for England, she found in Henry VII. a man who was capable not only of keeping order at home but also of enhancing England's reputation abroad.

The
accession
of Henry
VII., 1485.

Henry VII. realised that the attitude of the English nation towards France was unaltered; it was still "affectionate to war with France."

¹ See Oman, 'The Political History of England, 1377-1485,' pp. 465-469. London: Longmans, 1906.

There was a general feeling that our defeats, ending in the loss of all our French possessions except Calais, should be avenged, and the national honour redeemed. England and France were nominally at war at the time of his accession, and hostilities were only averted by a succession of truces. Henry's chief desire was to strengthen his position and to make his throne secure: he had no wish or intention to enter upon adventurous wars. The chief danger to his throne apparently came from France, then strong and consolidated under Charles VIII. That monarch was aiming at the destruction of the independence of Brittany, whose Duke had given Henry valuable aid in his expedition to England which had led to the battle of Bosworth.

Before he had been long on the throne Henry VII. realised that the two great political passions or prejudices which moved the English nation were "hatred of the French and hatred of the Scots."¹

In France a struggle was proceeding between the French government and a party in Brittany anxious to preserve Breton independence.

A treaty between the Duke of Brittany and

¹ Fisher, 'The Political History of England, 1485-1547,' p. 26. London: Longmans, 1906.

the French king in August 1488 was rendered ineffective by the death of the Duke the following month. His daughter Anne, who succeeded him at once, found that France intended to annex the Duchy. A new situation was thus created, and before the end of the year 1488, five years after his accession, Henry arranged, by the Treaty of Medina del Campo on March 27, 1490, a marriage alliance with Spain which under Ferdi- Alliance with Spain, 1490.
 nand and Isabella was viewing the rise of a powerful French monarchy with anxiety. This alliance, which followed one made at Redon on February 10, 1489, with Brittany, and one made on February 14 with Maximilian, the Emperor, at once raised the prestige of England, whose king found in Ferdinand a useful ally in matters concerning both Flanders and Scotland.

The marriage of Anne of Brittany to Charles VIII., on December 6, 1491, was apparently a blow to Henry's hopes and plans, and in 1492 he crossed with an army to France, thus carrying Treaty of Étapes, 1492. Close of medieval history.
 out his pledges to Ferdinand.

No war, however, took place. Charles had no hostile intentions towards England; he was already planning his famous expedition to Italy. Therefore, in November 1492, he made the Treaty of Étapes with Henry, who, like Edward IV. at

the Treaty of Pecquigny, received a large sum of money, and returned home. With the discovery of America in 1492 by Columbus, and the Italian expedition of Charles VIII. in 1494, medieval history ends and modern history begins.

PERIOD III.

1494-1558.

THE CONCLUDING YEARS OF ANGLO-
FRENCH HOSTILITY AND OF ANGLO-
SPANISH FRIENDSHIP.



CONTENTS.

General character of the foreign policy of the period—Charles VIII.'s expedition to Italy—Treaties with Spain and Scotland—The Magnus Intercursus—The League of Cambray—England's position on Henry's death—The battles of Spurs and Flodden—Peace with France, 1514—Wolsey and the balance of power—Election of Charles V.—England at war with France—The battle of Pavia—Henry VIII. allies with Francis—Failure of Wolsey's foreign policy—Foreign policy after Wolsey's fall—The Treaty of Ardres, 1546—War with Scotland—Somerset's foreign policy—Peace with France, 1550—Critical position of England under Edward VI.—Mary's marriage with Philip—Arguments for and against the match—Charles V.'s aims—End of the close connection between England and Spain.

ARGUMENT.

WITH the expedition of Charles VIII. Modern History opens. Henceforward the foremost idea, at any rate till 1800, is the idea of the balance of power. Medieval history has been likened by Bishop Stubbs to "a series of dramas which may be combined, like Greek trilogies, but have unities and plots of their own. The history of each great nation is a drama by itself."

After 1494 the several nations "appear together and take each the part for which it had been educated in the earlier stage,"¹ and from that time the idea of the balance of power "gives unity to the political plot in Modern European History." As a result of the close connection of the leading European States, diplomacy becomes important, and henceforward ambassadors play a prominent part in the chief European Courts. Their position and influence in England is a good illustration of the importance attached to foreign policy by the Tudors.

The expedition of Charles VIII.—"the revelation of Italy to the nations of the North"—emphasised, too, the triumph of the Renaissance, which marked a definite break in the history of the world. That movement was characterised by the steady development in exploration and in learning, and by many well-known remarkable inventions. Submissiveness to authority in religious matters gives way to freedom of thought, to a critical spirit, and to individualism, which led in the North of Europe to such movements as that of the Reformation.

¹ Stubbs, 'Lectures on Medieval and Modern History,' p. 25. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE EARLY TUDORS.

DURING the period from 1494 to 1558 English foreign policy loses in clearness and definiteness. In the reign of Louis XII. it might indeed be said that the ancient antagonism between England and France had lost little of its ferocity. And no doubt, so long as the close connection between France and Scotland existed, and so long as the English kept Calais, it was impossible to expect any satisfactory and lasting alliance between the Tudors and the Valois.

General
character
of English
foreign
policy,
1494-1558.

It was equally impossible to expect, after the rise of Luther, and after Henry VIII.'s divorce from Katharine of Aragon, and the break with Rome, that the ancient friendship with the Spanish monarchy could continue.

The period from 1494 to 1558, however, while containing many illustrations of the enmity of England and France, also furnishes evidence that the opposition between the two countries was

by no means a permanent factor in European politics, and at the same time it must be noted that the occasional alliance of the two countries, necessitated by the danger to the Balance of Power at the hands of Charles V., made it quite apparent that the problems of the sixteenth century were far removed from those of earlier centuries.

Similarly, after 1529, the opposition of the Papacy to England, and the close connection of Charles V. with the Papacy, steadily weakened the friendly connection between England and Spain. The fact that Charles possessed Flanders, a country with intimate trading interests with England, tended to complicate the issues between the Emperor and the English monarchs. The general tendency after 1529 was, however, towards the loosening of the connection between England and Spain.

Import-
ance of
Charles
VIII.'s
expedition
to Italy,
1494.

With the expedition of Charles VIII. to Italy a new period in European history begins. Italy became the battle-ground of Europe, and over it arose the long rivalry of the Hapsburgs with the Valois and Bourbon dynasties. Italy thus became known to the northern nations, and one result of the intervention of the great European Powers in the Italian Peninsula was that the Renaissance movement spread over Europe.

The expedition of Charles removed one of Henry VII.'s chief anxieties. There was no danger to be feared from France, whose king, anxious for a free hand in Italy, was desirous of securing England's neutrality. On Charles VIII.'s death in 1498 his successor, Louis XII., continued to carry out the Treaty of Étaples, which assured to Henry a revenue and to several English nobles pensions. Though peace was preserved with France, English foreign policy after the Italian expedition was based upon the alliances with Spain, Scotland, and Flanders, that with Scotland being arranged in 1497, after the departure of Perkin Warbeck from the Scottish Court.

Henry VII.'s treaties with Scotland, Spain, and Flanders.

These treaties were of unusual importance. That with Spain continued till Henry VIII. had severed the connection of the English Church with the Papacy; that with Scotland, which led to the marriage in 1503 of James IV. with Henry's daughter Margaret, eventuated in the union of the English and Scottish Crowns. The treaty with Spain also led to a marriage treaty (1496-1497) between Henry's eldest son, Prince Arthur, and the Infanta Katharine, who on Arthur's death married his brother (Henry VIII.) in 1509,—a marriage which led to important political and religious developments during the ensuing twenty years.

Another important diplomatic success was the Magnus Intercursus (1496), a commercial treaty which caused the gradual transference to England of the cloth manufactures of the Netherlands. "By his Flemish, Scottish, and Spanish alliances it could be truly said that Henry had surrounded his kingdom with a wall of brass."¹

The
League of
Cambray,
1508.

Henry's marriage projects in the later years of his reign are interesting, but only important as illustrating the close connection which existed between England and the courts of Spain and Flanders. Shortly before his death Europe was startled by the formation of the League of Cambray (December 10, 1508), the object of which was to unite the chief European powers in the spoliation of Venice. England was not included in the League, which was in full activity when Henry died on April 21, 1509, leaving his dynasty "safeguarded from external attack by a series of alliances with foreign powers, while the marriage of Margaret and James paved the way to the lasting union of the Thistle and the Rose."² He left Ireland firmly bound to England, which was now in no danger from faction fights

Position of
England
on Henry
VII.'s
death,
1509.

¹ Hassall, 'The Tudor Dynasty,' p. 24. London: Rivingtons, 1904.

² Fisher, 'The Political History of England, 1485-1547.' London: Longmans, 1906.

on the part of the rapidly disappearing old feudal aristocracy. The way was cleared for the advent of a new *régime* under which England might play a more leading part in European politics. Henry VII.'s reign saw a break made in the continuous hostility to France which had begun with the Norman Conquest. That hostility, however, occasionally broke out during the first sixty years of the sixteenth century, but the character of the enmity was changed.

The policy of friendship with Spain was followed by Henry VIII., who in 1511 joined the Holy League of Spain, Venice, and the Papacy against France, which power then held a strong position in North Italy.

Henry VIII.'s first war with France and Scotland.

The well-known invasions of France in 1512 and 1513 had results which barely compensated for the trouble and expense. The expedition in 1512 of Dorset to the south of France, with the object of conquering Guienne, ended in failure, but the victories of the Battle of the Spurs and of Flodden, both in August 1513, seemed to the English monarch brilliant and adequate, and to deal crushing blows at the Franco-Scottish alliance.

In 1514 the European world was startled by hearing that a marriage alliance had been con-

Peace with France, 1514.

cluded between England and France, Louis XII. having on October 9 married Henry's sister Mary. A blow had been struck at the alliance of England and Spain, which had first been brought about in the reign of Henry II. This diplomatic revolution, as unexpected as was that of 1717 when England, Holland, and France formed a Triple Alliance, was due to Wolsey's keen advocacy of the preservation of the Balance of Power in Europe. United, England and France could show a bold front to the alliance between the crafty Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian.

Wolsey
and the
Balance
of Power.

Till his death the aim of Wolsey's foreign policy appears to have been the maintenance of a Balance of Power in Europe. This policy seemed all the more necessary after the accession in 1515 to the throne of France of the adventurous Francis I., who invaded Italy, won the battle of Marignano in September 1515, and occupied Milan.

For the next twenty years France, owing to its attempts to establish a controlling influence over Italy, seemed to be the most aggressive power on the continent. The alliance of France and Scotland remained a constant and recurring menace to England, whose possession of Calais was a per-

petual source of irritation to the French nation. An anti-French combination in 1515 appeared likely to be at once formed, but owing partly to Wolsey's influence and partly to Ferdinand's death, and the accession of the young Charles (later Charles V.) to the throne of Spain, it was for a time postponed.

The fact that such young sovereigns as Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles occupied the thrones of England, France, and Spain, and the sudden appearance of the burning question of Italy, caused Wolsey much anxiety. He still, however, persevered in his efforts to avert the outbreak of war, and by the Treaty of London, concluded with France in 1518, England pledged herself to side against any attempt to break the general European peace. On January 19, 1519, Charles, then at Saragossa, ratified the league. So far Wolsey had succeeded in carrying out the principle of the Balance of Power, and no one country dominated the rest.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian on January 12, 1519, placed before Wolsey new problems of foreign policy which proved too difficult to be solved by the methods which he had hitherto employed.

Charles V.
and
Francis I.
at war.
England
attacks
France.

The election of Charles of Spain to the Imperial dignity indeed marked the beginning of the decline of the foreign policy of Wolsey. To the Cardinal himself, his interview with Charles V. at Canterbury at the end of May, his reception at the Field of Cloth of Gold in June 1520, and his conferences at Gravelines in July with Charles, seemed satisfactory evidences of his European influence and reputation, as well as of the position of England as "the arbiter of the destinies of Europe." And during the early years of the first war between Francis and Charles, the power of England seemed as great as ever. But as a matter of fact Wolsey's influence in foreign politics was waning. England gained nothing by a new Treaty with Charles in May 1522, nor by the invasion of France later in the year by an English army under Surrey. In 1523 an English army under the Duke of Suffolk entered Northern France, but had little success, though it caused much alarm in Paris.

There was no real unanimity between Henry VIII. and Charles V., the former of whom apparently hoped to secure the crown of France. It soon became evident that the French war had become unpopular in England, owing to the heavy expenditure. In 1523 the Commons resisted fresh

taxation, and refused to debate as long as Wolsey was present.

The year 1525 was a year of great importance. The overthrow of Francis at Pavia and his subsequent imprisonment in Spain seemed to render Charles V. all-powerful in Europe, while at the same time the inability of Wolsey to raise an "amicable grant" and benevolence made it obvious that the Cardinal's spirited foreign policy had failed. At the same time it must be noted that after Pavia Wolsey showed no feeling of discouragement, but began discussions with the French and Italian powers upon the question of organising an adequate resistance to the Emperor.

Henry
VIII. allies
with
Francis I.

The advisability of making an alliance with France was recognised in England, and at Westminster on April 30, 1527, treaties between the two countries were signed. Matters were completed by the Treaty of Amiens in August 1527, in accordance with which Henry and Francis agreed to undertake operations against Charles. The Emperor, however, won a signal success over the French in Naples in 1528, and on August 3, 1529, Francis, without consulting Henry VIII. or Wolsey, agreed to the Treaty of Cambray.

Failure of
Wolsey's
foreign
policy.

It was quite evident that Wolsey's policy of a Balance of Power had failed, and that England's influence counted for little on the continent. She was, as Professor Pollard says, "not really the arbiter, but only the makeweight in the European balance; her influence depended on the maintenance of that balance."¹

Foreign
policy
after
Wolsey's
fall.

Wolsey's fall and the breach with Rome came at a time when Europe, already seething with religious conflicts, became aware of the aggressive designs of the great Ottoman ruler, Suleiman. Charles V. found himself prevented by his European difficulties from taking action against the German Protestants, or against England in favour of Katharine of Aragon, while at the same time the affairs of Italy and Spain demanded his attention. He was therefore not in a position to interfere with the religious policy of Henry, who by 1536 had severed the connection between the English Church and the Papacy. In 1540, Katharine being dead, he renewed his alliance with Henry VIII. In 1543 the two monarchs agreed to make a combined attack upon France. Henry, however, wasted much time in the siege of Boulogne, and did not co-operate with Charles,

¹ Pollard, 'Factors in Modern History,' p. 91. London: Constable & Co., 1907.

who had advanced as far as the Marne. Consequently Charles made the Treaty of Crespy in 1544 with Francis, and abandoned his ally. Though deserted by Charles, Henry continued the war against France and Scotland till 1546, when, on June 7, he made the Treaty of Ardres with Francis, and engaged for a sum of money and a pension to evacuate Boulogne.

While attacking Francis, Henry had sent an expedition against the Scots. In 1544 Edinburgh and Leith had been destroyed by fire and the Scottish Border ravaged. In 1545 the Earl of Hertford again devastated the Border, Henry hoping, though in vain, to crush the spirit of Scottish independence. It was quite evident that the Franco-Scottish alliance was still in full vigour.

War with
Scotland,
1544-1545.

Thus at the close of his reign England had no trustworthy ally in Europe. Her safety from invasion and the absence of serious threats of attack were partly due to the invasions of Suleiman and partly to the growth of Protestantism in Germany. At the same time she owed something to the character of her king. Henry VIII., in the view of Mr Gardiner, "was really a monarch of consummate ability, who, if his course had not been misdirected by passion and selfishness, would

have left a name behind him as the very founder of England's greatness." By completing the work of his father, and "by crowning it by his victory over the Church," Henry VIII. consolidated a despotism which was the best means of establishing England's unity.

Somerset's
foreign
policy.

Protector Somerset, a statesman of remarkable ability, represented the views held by Henry VII. and Henry VIII. with regard to the necessity of the Union of England and Scotland, and endeavoured to carry them out. In the words of Professor Pollard, "he was born before his time, a seer of visions and a dreamer of dreams. He dreamt of the Union of England and Scotland, each retaining its local autonomy, as one empire of Great Britain."¹ He differed from Henry VII. and Henry VIII., however, in abstaining from all interference in Parliamentary elections, and in his endeavours to understand and redress the wrongs of the poor. He was somewhat naturally misunderstood, and his scheme for the Union of England and Scotland was postponed for upwards of a century and a half.

England
secure
from
attack by
Charles V.

The opposition of the Papacy, which continued to show itself at intervals during the century, was strikingly evident in Edward VI.'s reign. In

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. ii. p. 478.

1546 Paul III. proposed that Charles V. should unite with Francis I. in a war against England. Luckily Charles had no intention of imitating William the Conqueror, and leading a crusade against England. His relations with Paul were strained, and Edward VI. was in no way menaced by the danger of a hostile coalition.

The Peace of 1550 with France, in one aspect, closed an episode in foreign policy which opened with the conquest of Boulogne. That town was now restored to Henry II. of France. The peace is, however, of interest as affording evidence of that close connection between France and Scotland which had been established in 1295 in consequence of Edward I.'s somewhat ill-advised policy towards the northern kingdom. The weakness of the English Government, now guided by Warwick (Northumberland), who had succeeded to Somerset's position at the head of the Government, at once led to the cessation of hostilities with France and Scotland.

In 1550 the English Government had thus adopted a friendly attitude towards France, and a marriage of Edward VI. with the French princess Elizabeth was arranged. At the same time the ill treatment of the Princess Mary was a source of constant irritation to the Emperor,

The Peace
of 1550.

England's
weak posi-
tion under
Edward
VI.

and according to Mr Armstrong, "had Charles not been entangled in his Italian toils, the ill-treatment of Mary must almost have led to war in the autumn of 1551."¹ The weakness of England was patent to all, and Henry II. had some ground for his boast that England, France, and Scotland were at his absolute disposal.

At any rate, Warwick had relieved England from the strain of two wars which were proving an intolerable burden upon the English Exchequer. But his waste of money, and his ill-timed reduction of the military and naval forces of the country, were in part answerable for the loss of Calais in 1558 and for threats of a French invasion. England in 1550 and the following years ceased to count in foreign affairs.² In fact, even between 1550 and 1553, the year of Edward VI.'s death, England suffered from the attacks of Henry II., who was "breaking and burning of our ships, which be the old strength of this isle,"³ and though England was bound by treaty to Charles V., she could afford him no help in his war with the triumphant French king.

¹ Armstrong, 'The Emperor Charles V.,' vol. ii. pp. 236, 237. London: Macmillan, 1902.

² Pollard, 'The History of England, 1547-1603,' p. 48. London: Longmans, 1910.

³ Ibid., p. 78.

Thus Queen Mary on her accession found Eng-
land in great measure subservient to France and
holding a position of little account in Europe.
The foreign policy of the reign of Edward VI.
had proved a dismal failure, and England was
only saved from actual invasion by her insular
position.

Justifica-
tion for
Mary's
Spanish
marriage.

The reign of Mary, therefore, saw a return to the international position during the later Middle Ages. France was, as in the reign of Edward VI., the open and avowed enemy of England, which country found itself in close alliance with Spain.

During two short periods in the reign of Henry VIII.—the one ending with Pavia, the other with the Treaty of Crespy—England and Spain had been allied. But, since the growth of the Reformation, feeling in England had steadily grown averse from an alliance with Spain, though public opinion had been in favour of the accession of Mary to the English throne.

It was hoped that she would choose an English husband, while the prospect of some modification of the fierce and intolerant Protestantism of the previous reign was viewed with approbation by many Englishmen. At the same time, it must be remembered that England lay between the

allied countries of Scotland and France, the latter of which was strong, aggressive, and intriguing. On the other hand, there were, writes Mr Armstrong, "three elements of opposition to the Spanish marriage—Protestantism, English insularity, and French intrigue."¹

Mary's negotiations for a Spanish marriage, however, if carried through successfully, seemed likely to rescue England from her position of isolation in Europe and to weaken the influence of the Franco-Scottish alliance.

Nevertheless, in spite of England's weakness and isolation, the opposition to the Spanish match was intense. Foreign interference had always been unpopular in England. Hatred of foreign interference had been one of the chief causes of the break with Rome in Henry VIII.'s reign, and, moreover, the growth of Protestantism under Edward VI. had increased the feeling of hostility to any close alliance with a Roman Catholic power.

It is probable, however, that many Englishmen, had they been consulted, would have declared for a Hapsburg in preference to a Bourbon alliance. Ever since Henry II. of England's reign, the Eng-

¹ Armstrong, 'The Emperor Charles V.,' vol. ii. pp. 278, 279. London: Macmillan, 1903.

lish connection with Flanders (Burgundy from the middle of the fourteenth century) had continued. Trading interests between England and Burgundy had vastly developed during the fifteenth century, and we are told that probably "half the population depended directly, or indirectly, for subsistence upon the wool-markets of the Netherlands."¹

But, on the other hand, during the sixteenth century that dependence was lessening owing England's hatred of Spain. "to the development of England's manufactures," while the opposition to Spain on account of her religious intolerance and her commercial narrowness was rapidly leading Englishmen to forget the traditional connection between the two countries, and to acquire a hatred for Spain which lasted without a break till the accession of the English Charles II., and was revived at the outbreak of the Spanish Succession War.

Mary did not share this ever-increasing antipathy to Spain. Her mother was a Spanish princess; she herself held the faith of Rome; and ignoring all questions of maritime and commercial rivalry, she persisted in regarding the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England as of more moment than any other question.

¹ Pollard, 'Factors in Modern History,' p. 104.

Mary's resolution to marry Philip came as an unpleasant surprise to Henry II. of France, fresh from his triumph over Charles V., and confident that, secure of his alliance with Scotland, he could dominate England. In his contest with Charles V. the latter would in all probability be able to rely upon the assistance of the English fleet. For the time being Henry made every effort to preserve peace with England. To the Hapsburgs, however, it seemed that a close and active alliance with England was a necessity in view of the importance of safeguarding the Spanish Netherlands from the aggressions of the French king.

Wyatt's fruitless rebellion in February 1554 testified to the deep national opposition to the Spanish match, but the failure of the rising strengthened Mary's determination to carry out her fixed intention. The marriage with Philip once concluded, England, no less than the Netherlands, would be secure from any serious aggression on the part of France.

The
Spanish
marriage,
1554.

Philip's arrival in England in July 1554, and his marriage with Mary on July 25, was shortly afterwards followed by the reconciliation of England with Rome and by persecutions. Mary's early popularity quickly faded, and the Spanish marriage tended to become universally unpopular. Though

Philip after his return to the continent in the autumn of 1555 urged Mary to adopt a more tolerant policy, he did so because, though he and his father were carrying out a vigorous persecution in the Netherlands and in Spain, he recognised the unwisdom of a similar policy in England.

Their advice does credit to their political insight. The persecutions of Mary not only made the breach with Rome final and the hatred of the Papacy indelible, but it ended all hope of a continuance or renewal of the friendly relations with Spain which had marked much of English foreign policy since the reign of Henry II.

During the remainder of Mary's reign Englishmen realised that trading privileges with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were denied them, and found themselves at war with France, which in 1557 Mary had declared in accordance with Philip's wish, who in that year had succeeded Charles as King of Spain. In January 1558 Calais was lost, a hitherto permanent stumbling-block in the way of a future alliance between France and England was removed, and with Mary's death came the definite close of the long connection between England and Spain.

Calais lost,
1558.

PERIOD IV.

1558-1603.

THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE
WITH SPAIN.

CONTENTS.

Elizabeth's accession—England and Europe—English trade—The greatness of Spain—England's position—Danger from Spain—Policy of Philip II.—Break-up of the Franco-Scottish Alliance—Mary Queen of Scots in England—The danger from the Counter-Reformation—Defensive policy necessary—Elizabeth's caution—Leicester's expedition—The Spanish Armada—The Diplomatic Revolution—Continuance of hostilities with Spain—Europe saved.

ARGUMENT.

DURING the reign of Elizabeth, Europe experienced a religious reaction. The Reformation had produced the Counter-Reformation, which during Elizabeth's reign was in full blast. The activity of the Jesuits, the ability and vigour of successive Popes, the decrees of the Council of Trent, the overthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, all bear evidence to the strength of the Roman Catholic powers, and to the danger to Protestantism. The centre of the Roman Catholic assault upon Protestantism was Philip II., whose influence in Germany and Italy was considerable. Spain was entirely subject to him and Portugal was annexed. His influence in France increased as the Civil Wars in that country proceeded. The permanent establishment of Spanish domination in Europe and the New World implied the destruction of the independence of England, Holland, and Scotland. From this fate Europe was saved by England.

THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN.

ELIZABETH'S accession coincided with the growing success of the Counter-Reformation movement, and with an anti-Papal movement in Scotland, which was marked in 1560 by the break of the ancient friendly connection between Scotland and France. Her accession was also shortly followed by the outbreak of the religious wars in France, which for nearly half a century rendered that country's influence in European affairs practically negligible. The Spanish domination in the old and new world seemed firmly established, and though Scotland was no longer the foe of England, the two countries were as yet of little account in European politics.

The accession of Elizabeth.

England's humiliation at the time of Mary's death was complete, and it was obvious that a new direction should be given to our foreign policy. But, owing to the political situation on the continent, it was necessary to proceed cau-

tiously. In April 1559 Spain and France concluded the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Fortunately, the loss of Calais had this advantage, that it removed a constant source of misunderstanding with France. Scotland, too, busy with the development of the Reformation movement under John Knox, was anxious for a period of rest from war; while Philip, fearful, if Elizabeth was deposed, that the crown of England would go to Mary Stuart, the niece of the Guises, and that a powerful Anglo-French alliance would be concluded, was not disposed to take any step antagonistic to the young English queen. "Thus England," writes Professor Pollard, "entered upon the longest period of official peace it had enjoyed since the reign of Henry III."¹

England
and
Europe.

The accession of Elizabeth none the less implied a crisis in England's foreign relations. That crisis had been impending for some years, though its importance was not realised till Charles V. made the famous and fateful division of his dominions, assigning Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip, and Germany to his brother Ferdinand.

Since Norman times England had been deeply

¹ Pollard, 'The Political History of England, 1547-1603,' p. 196. London: Longmans, 1910.

interested on commercial and political grounds in the welfare of the Netherlands, where, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Protestantism was rapidly taking root.

As Elizabeth's reign proceeded, and all fear of the continuance of the Franco-Scottish alliance was removed, it became of the first importance to England to prevent the subjugation of the Netherlands by Spain. Commercial no less than religious considerations soon made it apparent that the ancient Anglo-Spanish connection had come to an end. That their common religious and commercial interests would bring England and the Netherlands into a close alliance had as early as 1559 been recognised by Alvarez de Guadra, Bishop of Aquila, who was then in England, and who was convinced that Elizabeth had already begun to consider the best plan for ousting Philip from the Netherlands.

A variety of causes thus tended, from the accession of Elizabeth onwards, to revolutionise English foreign policy. Her reign, moreover, not only marks the first indication of England's future maritime greatness, it also sees the foundations laid of England's manufacturing prosperity.

English trade.
The effect of the discovery of America.

The independence of England of Flemish manufactures took place early in the reign, and estab-

lished her as a manufacturing as well as a producing country.

This momentous change came about during the period when the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope was being utilised, and when the results of the discovery of America were making themselves felt.

Owing to the establishment and development of the Turkish Empire in Europe, the Mediterranean trade had suffered a disastrous check. The enterprise of the Portuguese in opening a new route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, together with the discovery of the New World, thus proved of unspeakable value to Europe.

During the sixteenth century, however, the real meaning and value of the New World was by no means fully appreciated. Europe now consisted of a number of powerful consolidated states, all of which were far more interested in the religious struggles resulting from the Reformation movement than with the problems which were soon to arise in connection with the discovery of the New World.

Character-
istics of
the foreign
policy of
the period.

Consequently the foreign policy of all the leading European countries from the middle of the sixteenth century to the Peace of Westphalia has reference to, and is connected with, the

struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation,—a struggle which definitely began with the close of the Council of Trent.

Though the Atlantic Ocean was now substituted for the Mediterranean as the chief European highway of commerce, and though “the centre of movement and intelligence began to pass from the centre of Europe to the Western Coast,”¹ the movement was hardly noticeable in the sixteenth century—in fact, was not fully appreciated till after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Till then the chief attention of Europe was fixed upon and influenced by the foreign policy and religious aims of the Hapsburgs in Spain and in the Empire.

Italy had, indeed, in the opening years of the sixteenth century declined from the high position which it held in Europe in the Middle Ages, and its intellectual pre-eminence was a century later to pass to Holland, the home of Lipsius, Scaliger, Descartes, and Grotius.

For England during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and the early years of that of Charles I., the chief interest of foreign politics centred round Spain, which for a time held the monopoly of

The greatness of Spain.

¹ Seeley, ‘Expansion of England,’ p. 889.

trade with the New World, had in 1580 annexed Portugal, and till 1588 seemed likely to establish its domination over Holland, which would imply its predominance in the North Sea and the English Channel.

England's
position
on Elizabeth's
accession.

The period till 1588, though not marked by any war in which England took part, was thus one of great anxiety for Elizabeth and her ministers. During the first years of her reign, however, the possibility of a Valois-Stuart-Guise empire, of which England should be a fragment, alarmed Philip and his ministers and strengthened their determination to resist any French interference in England in the early years of Elizabeth's reign.

Elizabeth and Cecil thus had breathing-time given them, and they seized the opportunity to strengthen the defences of England, to render the country no longer dependent on the Netherlands for powder, to improve the navy, and to rehabilitate the finances.

Danger
from
Spain.

Nevertheless the situation in which England found herself at the accession of Elizabeth seemed full of danger. The Hapsburgs—*i.e.*, the Emperor Ferdinand I. and Philip II.—were united. "The complex Spanish monarchy" was the most powerful in the world, and till the Armada it seemed certain that Spain would con-

tinue to dominate Europe. Though opposition to Spain in the Netherlands was vigorous, it seemed unlikely that Philip would be compelled to admit of ultimate failure in his design for the total subjugation of the revolted states. In 1571 his fleet overthrew the Turks in the battle of Lepanto; in 1580 Portugal was annexed to the Spanish monarchy. Since the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, his claims on Milan and Naples had been undisputed, while the decrees of the Council of Trent and the support of the Papacy testified to the danger to Protestantism from the movement of the Counter-Reformation.

At the same time the civil wars in France removed all danger of opposition from that country to Philip's powerful and aggressive position. Moreover, there was a further danger from the possible triumph of the Guises in France, which would place that country entirely at the mercy of the Spanish king.

Thus during the early years of Elizabeth's reign the Balance of Power in Europe was entirely upset.

A peculiarity in the history of the hostility between England and Spain is that the crisis—the defeat of the Spanish Armada—is not reached till after some thirty years of the definite opening of the period of veiled hostility. Though that

hostility continued with intervals of peace till 1807, there was never again so critical an epoch in the relations of England and Spain as that of the Spanish Armada.

Policy of
Philip II.

At the time of Elizabeth's accession, and for some years later, Philip was, however, content to bide his time, being unwilling to take any step which might result in the permanent establishment of Valois influence in England. And in addition to the rivalry of the Hapsburg and Valois houses, the Reformation movement in Scotland proved an additional advantage of inestimable value to Elizabeth.

Break
in the
Franco-
Scottish
Alliance.

The death of Henry II. of France in 1559, followed by that of Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, in 1560, and by the outbreak of the French wars of religion, coincided with the triumph of the Reformation in Scotland, which implied a break in the long, friendly, and to England dangerous connection between France and Scotland. In 1560 Elizabeth allied with the leading Scottish lords, who insisted that all French troops should leave Scotland. The growth of a national sentiment in Scotland, coincident with the triumph of the Reformation, thus resulted in the removal of all danger from a Franco-Scottish alliance, while, as has been stated, the civil strife

into which France was plunged for over thirty years forced her to relinquish the ambitious projects of Henry II.

The danger from Scotland was not, however, entirely removed, for, while Elizabeth had not married, Mary took Darnley for her second husband, and in 1566 her son James (later James I. of England) was born. But, fortunately for Elizabeth, Mary ruined her cause in Scotland and lessened Elizabeth's anxieties by her impolitic conduct. The death of Darnley, Mary's marriage with Bothwell, the civil war which followed, her defeat at Langside, and her flight into England, finally destroyed all chance of a renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance. ✓ Elizabeth's position after 1568 was no longer imperilled from the side of Scotland or from France. Spain remained her undeclared but most serious enemy.

Mary
Queen of
Scots,
while in
Scotland,
a danger to
Elizabeth.

From this time the enmity between England and Spain rapidly developed. But as long as Mary Queen of Scots was alive, though a prisoner in England, Philip took no active steps in attacking Elizabeth, for the triumph of Mary would be the triumph of France.

The
coming
danger
from Spain
and the
Papacy.

His inaction, however, due as it was to political reasons, did not prevent Roman Catholicism from endeavouring to secure the deposition or death

of Elizabeth. In 1570 the Pope Pius V. issued a Bull against the English queen, and the "Catholic reaction" in Europe hurled itself against the British Isles. Philip, meanwhile, was devoting all his energies to the extermination of Protestantism and the suppression of the revolt of the Netherlands.

During the long-drawn-out crisis which lasted till 1588, Elizabeth displayed that Tudor caution which had been so successfully exemplified by Henry VII. Never was that caution more advisable, and the events of the years 1570, 1571, and 1572 brought home to the queen and the nation the gravity of the position, and the necessity of a watchful policy. For in those years the aggressive character of the Counter-Reformation was clearly manifested. In 1570 came the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V., while in 1571 not only did the Papacy and Spain win the decisive battle of Lepanto against the Turks, but in that year the discovery of the Ridolphi plot made manifest the dangers which surrounded Elizabeth.

The aggressive policy of the Counter-Reformation.

A defensive policy necessary.

Defensive measures were absolutely necessary. Diplomatic relations were broken off with Spain, but, what was more important, Elizabeth abandoned her policy of neutrality and in 1572 formed a

defensive alliance with France, an alliance which has been styled "the corner-stone" of her foreign policy. In 1573 she secretly assisted the Dutch, while in 1574 the English Government began a series of attacks on the Roman Catholics. Owing to the constant arrival of seminary priests from Douai this policy of severity against Roman Catholics was but natural.

Even at this anxious time Elizabeth's caution never deserted her. In 1574 she declined the offer of William of Orange of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and though money and men were at times sent secretly to aid the Dutch, she carefully abstained from any open hostile action against Philip. Two years later William, being in a desperate position, again made overtures to Elizabeth, offering her the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland. But Elizabeth's chief thought was for England. Open war with Philip would lead him to support the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in England. She had, moreover, an innate objection to aiding rebels; she had no sympathy whatever with Calvinists. She, therefore, acted very characteristically, receiving both the Dutch envoys and the envoy of Requesens, and committing herself to neither side.

Eliza-
beth's
caution.

The death of Requesens in 1576 came most

fortunately for William the Silent, who seized the opportunity to strengthen the position of Holland and Zeeland.

Leicester's
expedi-
tion, 1585.

The assassination of William in 1584 forced Elizabeth to take definite action. Success attended Philip's movements in the Netherlands in 1585, and the States-General sent to England envoys, who concluded a treaty with Elizabeth in August. The capture of Antwerp by Parma, however, made her realise the importance of the crisis, and in December Leicester with an English force landed at Flushing. His expedition proved a failure, and Parma, had his hands been left free, would have achieved the conquest of the Northern Netherlands in 1588.

The
Spanish
Armada,
1588.

Fortunately for Europe and Protestantism, Philip interfered with the plans of Parma, who was ordered to concentrate his forces between Dunkirk and Sluys preparatory to the invasion of England. The Dutch provinces were saved, while the defeat of the Armada implied the failure of Philip's efforts to establish his political supremacy in Europe.

Eliza-
beth's
policy
similar to
that of
Henry VII.

During these long and anxious years Elizabeth, as has already been noted, had shown herself possessed of many of the qualities which characterised Henry VII. Both sovereigns carried caution per-

haps too far; both had the gift of patience. Both were well served by their agents, and both were supported by the nation. Elizabeth, however, was in a far more difficult position than was Henry, for in the latter's day the religious division of Europe had not taken place, and the power of the Spanish monarchy was as yet only beginning to be a factor in European politics.

The overthrow of the Spanish Armada marks the beginning of open war with Spain,—a war which continued without a break into the reign of James I. The period from Elizabeth's accession to 1588 was thus a period of veiled hostilities, and saw the definite ending of that friendly connection between England and Spain which had continued from the reign of Henry II. The years from 1558 to 1588 have with justice been styled the Period of a Diplomatic Revolution.

The Diplomatic Revolution, 1558-1588.

In 1588 the Diplomatic Revolution was accomplished, and from that time to 1808, the year which marked the outbreak of the Peninsular War, England and Spain are, with intervals of peace, opposed to each other on religious, political, or commercial grounds. It is a war lasting two hundred and twenty years, and its importance cannot be overrated.

Summary of the wars between England and Spain.

The periods of actual war were: (1) 1588-1604;

(2) 1624-1630 ; (3) 1656-1660 ; (4) 1702-1713 ; (5) 1739-1746 ; (6) 1762-1763 ; (7) 1779-1783 ; (8) 1796-1802 ; (9) 1803-1807.

Alliance
with
France,
1593.
Open war
with
Spain.

The outbreak of the long struggle in 1588 with Philip II. was followed by an informal alliance in 1593 with Henry IV. of France, who, assured of English and of Dutch support, declared war upon Spain in January 1595. The friendly relations which Elizabeth had established with France during the greater part of her reign were continued by James I. during the early years of his reign, and to some extent by Charles I. Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. all favoured a French alliance, which thus may be said to have been one of the objects of British foreign policy for upwards of a hundred years.

After 1588 a period of fierce warfare set in between England and Spain. English soldiers and sailors prosecuted the war against Spain in Europe, in South America, and in Ireland. An expedition despatched to Portugal in 1589 failed before Lisbon ; and in 1591 a squadron sent to the Azores was forced to retire before a powerful Spanish fleet, the chief incident being the loss of the *Revenge* commanded by Sir Richard Greynville. In other directions success attended the English. In 1595, while the English and Dutch

fought in France on behalf of Henry IV., Hawkins and Drake sailed to the West Indies. The former died during the early days of the expedition, and Drake, after doing damage to several Spanish towns in South America, died on January 27, 1596. In that year Cadiz was stormed and much damage was done. In May 1598 the Peace of Vervins ended the war between France and Spain. Elizabeth, however, did not desert the Dutch, and the war continued. With the death of Philip II. in September 1598 the naval war ended, for Spain had no fleet and the English held the command of the sea, doing much damage to Spanish trade with their privateers.

In Ireland, however, the English and Spanish met. A Spanish expedition had landed at Kinsale in the autumn of 1600, and was supported at the end of the year by the arrival of a second Spanish fleet. In January 1602 the Spaniards capitulated, and in 1603 their Irish allies submitted. Thus was accomplished "the first real conquest of Ireland."¹ In this the first and most serious "bout" in the long struggles between England and Spain the former had won. England

The
Spaniards
in Ireland,
1600-1602.

¹ Pollard, 'The Political History of England,' vol. vi. p. 438. London: Longmans, 1910.

was not only safe from invasion, but Europe was given a period of uneasy rest till the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, when the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs combined in a last attempt to secure not only the triumph of the Counter-Reformation, but also their unquestioned supremacy in Europe.

PERIOD V.

1603-1688.

THE STRUGGLE WITH HOLLAND TILL
1674 AND WITH SPAIN TILL 1660.

CONTENTS.

Relations of England with Spain, France, and Holland—Holland
England's real rival—Hostility to Spain—Foreign policy, 1603-
1612—The Palatinate question—The European situation after
Charles I.'s accession—Growth of the antagonism of England
and Holland—Subjects of dispute before 1621—Open hostility
checked by the Thirty Years' War—The rupture of the Spanish
marriage negotiations—Marriage of Charles I. to Henrietta
Maria—Failure of Charles I.'s foreign policy—Peace with France
and Spain, 1629, 1630—Helplessness of Charles, 1629-1639—
Aggressiveness of Holland—Dutch embassy to England, 1636—
The Dutch destroy a Spanish fleet in the Downs, 1639—The
Long Parliament meets, 1640—Summary of Charles I.'s aims,
1629-1639—Cromwell's foreign policy—Danger from Holland
and France—The First Dutch War—England's friendly rela-
tions with Portugal—War with Spain—Alliance with France—
Foreign policy of Charles II. and James II.—The Second Dutch
War, 1665-1667—The Triple Alliance—The Third Dutch War,
1671-1674—English foreign policy dynastic, 1674-1688.

ARGUMENT.

THE Stuart Period is one in which, owing to the politico-religious struggles at home, the natural course of foreign policy is seriously interfered with. The great effort of the Counter-Reformation—known as the Thirty Years' War—occupies the years from 1618 to 1648, and till its close Spain remained the object of the hostility of the English nation. But England was neither able to assist the Protestant cause nor, before 1649, to contend with Spain, owing to the dynastic policy of James I. and Charles I., to the quarrels of those monarchs with their Parliaments, and to the outbreak of the Great Rebellion. Nor was England, for the same reasons, able to contend with Holland, her most dangerous rival in the colonies and at sea.

Under Cromwell England opens her inevitable conflict with Holland, and Charles II. continues the struggle till 1674, when the Dutch cease to be serious competitors in the colonial and commercial race.

Cromwell also joined France in attacking Spain. From the accession of Charles II. of Spain in 1665 to his death in 1700, all danger to England from Madrid ceases, and Spain ceases to be a serious factor in European politics.

From 1674 France becomes the real enemy of England, but religious feuds and party quarrels at home enable Charles II. to pursue a purely dynastic policy of friendship with France, a policy continued by James II.

THE STRUGGLE WITH HOLLAND TILL 1674, AND WITH SPAIN TILL 1660.

WITH the accession of James I. a somewhat in- Spain.
definite period in the history of British foreign
policy sets in.

The nation as a whole naturally regarded Spain as its chief enemy, and it was not till the Restoration that its deeply-rooted apprehension of serious danger from that country was entirely allayed. During the reign of James I., and the early years of the reign of Charles I., the anti-Spanish feeling of the country was continually in evidence, especially after the opening of the Thirty Years' War.

The national antagonism to Spain was certainly justified, and until the victorious career of Gustavus Adolphus, followed by the entry of France into the Thirty Years' War, the danger to Europe from Spain and Austria was a very serious one.

Since Elizabeth's accession the ancient ani- France.

mosity between England and France had, in great measure, cooled; and it was not till the later years of Charles II.'s reign that the interests of the two nations began to clash, and the second Hundred Years' War broke out in 1688.

Holland.

Neither James I. nor Charles I., nor Englishmen generally, realised that their most dangerous enemy in Europe, after the opening of the second period of the Thirty Years' War in 1632, when the war became purely political,—the struggle of France against the Hapsburgs,—was neither France nor Spain, but Holland. Between 1603 and 1674 Holland was England's implacable foe, though the statesmen of both countries persisted for many years in minimising the ever-growing and unavoidable hostility between the two nations.

The
natural
continu-
ance of
hostility
to Spain
in Europe
and in
the New
World.

Domestic troubles in England and the outbreak and long continuance of the Thirty Years' War led men to ignore the steady growth and extraordinary prosperity of the Low Countries. The outbreak, too, of the Great Rebellion distracted the minds of Englishmen from foreign politics, and it was not till Cromwell was firmly established at the head of affairs that the true position of England relative to Holland was clearly realised, and the necessity of curbing the latter's sea power was recognised.

During the greater portion of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. it may be said that those monarchs conceived a foreign policy which was not and could not be in the true interests of England. There was much to be said for the foreign policy desired by Parliament and the nation, but little defence can be urged for that desired and partly carried out by James and Charles.

The
beginnings
of the
hostility
between
England
and
Holland.

Throughout the reign of James I. Englishmen somewhat naturally regarded Spain as the chief enemy of England, while the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 led men with some reason to regard with alarm the danger of the expansion of the two branches of the Hapsburg House.

When Eliot, in 1624, exclaimed, "Are we poor? Spain is rich. There are our Indies. Break with them: we shall break our necessities together"; he was at any rate showing a realisation of the advantages of an over-sea development for England, bringing with it a vast increase of trade and with trade wealth; and he was expressing the sentiments of the nation at a time when it seemed that the Austrians and Spaniards would establish their supremacy over the continent of Europe. But both James I. and

Charles I. "regarded foreign politics purely from the point of view of the family."¹

The
Palatinate
question.

Their chief object, after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, was a family one—the recovery of the Palatinate for Frederick, Count Palatine, who had married James's daughter, Elizabeth. When the negotiations for the Spanish match were finally broken off, and Charles married Henrietta Maria, the aim of Charles was to use the French alliance for the recovery of the Palatinate. Neither James nor Charles showed any appreciation of the great issues at stake in the Thirty Years' War. In demanding a Spanish war, however, Parliament was actuated by religious as well as commercial motives, and so far held views which were natural, defensible, and appreciated by the English nation. But neither of these Kings nor Parliament showed any definite realisation of the danger to England's commercial and colonial prospects arising from the rapid growth of Holland's navy and colonial power.

It was not till Cromwell ruled England that not only did the dynastic system of James and Charles come to an end, but that the nation was taught to realise that *not Spain but Holland*

¹ Seeley, 'Growth of British Policy,' vol. ii. p. 309.

was England's most dangerous commercial and colonial rival. Under Cromwell a national system of foreign policy was deliberately followed,¹ and in this respect Cromwell's foreign policy was a return to that of Elizabeth, who, like him, carried out a foreign policy which was supported by, and in the true interests of, the nation.

From 1609, when Spain, which had closed its war with England in 1604, made a truce with Holland, recognising her inability to reconquer that country, the Dutch gradually became the most dangerous rivals for England in the colonies and on the seas. The fact that Spain was a declining Power was, however, not generally recognised till the attainment by Portugal of its independence in 1640, and the Peace of the Pyrenees had demonstrated the rapid decadence of the Spanish monarchy.

During the years from 1603 to 1612 the foreign policy of Elizabeth was continued, James deferring to the advice of Robert Cecil. Important events for the future of Protestantism seemed to be pending when Henry IV. of France was murdered in 1610. That event caused the religious struggle in Europe to be postponed for some eight years.

¹ Seeley, 'Growth of British Policy,' vol. ii. p. 403.

After the death of Cecil, James took the management of foreign policy into his own hands, and insisted on entering into friendly relations with Spain. That policy was distinctly contrary to the interests of the English nation.

The
Palatinate
question.

The overthrow of Frederick Count Palatine, son-in-law of James, at the battle of the White Hill in Bohemia, in 1620, proved to be a crisis in the life of James, and an event of European importance.

On January 30, 1621, the third Parliament of the reign met, anxious to defend the cause of Protestantism. Had James taken Parliament into his confidence and asserted his determination to preserve the Lower Palatinate for his son-in-law, it is possible that the European war would not have developed. But he quarrelled with his Parliament, which was dissolved in 1622. The following year the Palatinate was lost to Frederick, and the war rapidly spread to the shores of the Baltic. James's foreign policy had ended in failure disastrous to England and doubly disastrous to Europe.

His inability, by means of the Spanish match, to retrieve the situation and to recover the Palatinate, led to the marriage of Prince Charles to Henrietta Maria and to an alliance with Denmark. Thus the last year of James's reign saw

a tardy attempt being made to retrieve the fatal blunder of a policy based on a Spanish alliance.

Till the death of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632 the objects of the Thirty Years' War were chiefly religious. The early period of the war represented the final efforts of the Counter-Reformation to suppress Protestantism in Germany. Till Wallenstein's failure in 1628 at Stralsund it seemed likely that the Hapsburg ascendancy would be extended to the Baltic. Had Wallenstein succeeded, fresh life and vigour would have been given to Spain. Consequently, until the successful career of Gustavus Adolphus the English Parliament was fully justified in its policy of opposition to Spain.

The European situation after Charles I.'s accession.

After the death of the Swedish king in 1632 the Thirty Years' War relapsed from a religious struggle, in which political considerations occupied a secondary place, into a purely political struggle of France and Sweden against Austria and Spain.

While the Thirty Years' War was in progress, it was obviously not the moment for two Protestant Powers, such as were England and Holland, to enter into a struggle. Moreover, from the time of the death of Gustavus Adolphus to 1649, England was busily engaged in a domestic crisis which in

England and Holland.

1632-1649

1642 developed into the war known as the Great Rebellion.

Numerous instances, however, during the reign of James I. and that of Charles I., before the outbreak of the Civil War, showed clearly that the growth of rivalry between England and Holland on the sea and in the colonies was becoming more and more accentuated, and that hostilities must assuredly at no distant time take place. Had it not been for the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 and that of the Great Rebellion in 1642, the enmity between Holland and England, aggravated by such acts as the massacre of Amboyna, must have come to a head earlier than it did.

The
beginning
of Anglo
Dutch
rivalry.

Among the many claims of Elizabeth to the title of statesman, her recognition of the Netherlands as a possible rival to England is one which cannot be overlooked. Her help during the critical years just preceding the Spanish Armada crisis was only given when the ports of Flushing and Brill, together with the fort of Rammekens, had been placed in her hands as security for her expenses. The reign of James I. saw the steady growth of the Dutch power, and in 1607 the Venetian ambassador in England reported that the Dutch, as soon as peace with Spain had been

concluded, will show themselves independent of England.¹ The ambassador indeed realised, far more clearly than did James or his subjects, that the Dutch were as powerful as the English at sea. The "profession of the sea," he writes, "is manifestly more and more on the wane in England, so more and more it is increasing and acquiring force and vigour among the Dutch." The ambassador's appreciation of the power of the Netherlands did credit to his foresight, for between the beginning of the century and 1672 the Dutch nation became one of the most powerful of the European states. The strength of their fleets compensated in great measure for their comparatively small armies, while their wealth and colonial possessions enabled them to secure the respect of Europe.

most powerful

The English nation was by no means unaware of the possible dangers to itself from this development of the Dutch maritime and colonial power. "The English people," we are told, "saw the growing maritime strength and rapidly increasing commercial prosperity of the Dutch with jealous eyes."² With regard to the invasion of the British fishing-grounds by the Dutch, the Eng-

¹ Edmundson, 'Anglo-Dutch Rivalry,' p. 17. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² Ibid., p. 24.

lish were particularly sensitive, and during the greater part of the reign of James negotiations on this subject continually took place. Closely connected with this matter was the claim of the English kings to the lordship over the "narrow seas," a claim which the Dutch disputed. Nevertheless, on the part of the English nation the fisheries question during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. did not lead to any violent explosion; for that question occupied the minds of Englishmen far less than did James's unpopular leaning towards Spain. Public opinion, however, showed itself at times uneasy with regard to the rapid growth of Dutch and the decline of English commerce. In every direction "the commercial enterprise" of the Dutch "was enabled to open out fresh outlets for trade, and finally to secure the recognition of the young republic as an influential member of the European family of nations."¹

They secured the monopoly of the Russian trade, the Baltic commerce was practically in their hands, and they were far more powerful than were the English in the East Indies. In 1616, in consideration of a large sum of money, James I.

¹ Edmundson, 'Anglo-Dutch Rivalry,' p. 40. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

handed over the "cautionary" towns to the Dutch, who were thus freed entirely from all dependence upon England.

Disputes, however, had already arisen over the question of the Greenland fishing, of which both Subjects of dispute, 1606-1621. nations claimed the monopoly, and in 1615-16 hostilities between England and Holland were with difficulty averted.

In the summer of 1618 four burning questions, each of which might have led to a rupture, awaited solution: "The Greenland or Spitzbergen Fishing, the Great or Herring Fishery, the refusal to admit English dyed or dressed cloths into the Netherlands,"¹ and the East India spice trade.

The outbreak of hostilities was, however, averted, owing to (1) a domestic crisis in the Netherlands, and (2) the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Maurice of Orange had overcome the province of Holland, and had imprisoned Oldenbarneveltdt. An embassy was then sent in 1618 to England, but only resulted in a further postponement of the settlement of the disputed questions.

In view, however, of the prospect of an invasion

The Thirty
Years'
War.

¹ Edmundson, 'Anglo-Dutch Rivalry,' p. 56. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

of their territory by the Spaniards, now that the truce with Spain had ended, that the Thirty Years' War had begun, and the battle of the White Hill had been fought with results so disastrous to Frederick of the Palatinate, Maurice sent an embassy to England in December 1621, hoping to effect an offensive and defensive alliance between Holland and England, to the advantage of Protestantism in Germany. But neither James I. nor Charles I. ever seem to have realised how immense were the issues raised by the Thirty Years' War, nor the imminent danger to which Protestantism in Europe was exposed by the efforts of the Emperor Ferdinand, ably seconded by Maximilian of Bavaria, Tilly, Spinola, and later by Wallenstein. Nor did they realise that the success of these champions of the Counter-Reformation could only be prevented by united action on the part of all the North German Protestant states.

Nevertheless, the efforts of Maurice to improve the relations between Holland and England were not altogether fruitless. The embassy remained in England throughout 1622, and though no agreement was come to over the Greenland fishery dispute, an arrangement was arrived at with regard to the East Indian disputes.

It was all the more necessary for the States to cultivate good relations with England, for the year 1622 had seen the Spaniards under Spinola making an ineffectual attempt to capture Bergen-op-Zoom. The Dutch were willing in return for English aid to assist James in the recovery of the Palatinate for his son-in-law, Frederick. The necessity for an English alliance seemed all the more obvious when the news arrived of the journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Spain. But the negotiations which were opened proved unnecessary, owing to the failure of the negotiations for the Spanish match.

England, to the joy of the whole nation, was thrown definitely into opposition to Spain, and the anti-Spanish policy advocated by Buckingham was enthusiastically supported. Realising the advisability of striking while the iron was hot, Maurice sent another embassy to London at the beginning of 1624, and its arrival in London was the cause of an outburst of enthusiasm on the part of the inhabitants. A defensive alliance between the two countries was arranged, English volunteers poured into the Netherlands, then in danger from a fresh invasion by Spinola, and it seemed that England was about to take an important part in the Thirty Years' War. Unlooked

The
rupture
of the
Spanish
match,
1624.

for events in England, however, destroyed all these bright hopes. In March 1625 Charles I. ascended the English throne, and a month later Frederick Henry, on the death of his brother Maurice, became Stadtholder. At first, however, all seemed well. Charles's marriage to Henrietta Maria implied close relations with France, then guided by Richelieu, whose opposition to the House of Hapsburg was soon to show itself in an emphatic manner. Frederick Henry, an able general and statesman, at once secured the friendship of France, and in September made with England the Treaty of Southampton, which implied an offensive and defensive alliance against Spain.

James's foreign policy from 1612 to 1624 had proved a failure, and owing to his dilatoriness, conceit, and inability to realise the importance and meaning of the great European questions at issue, he must be regarded as one of the authors of the Thirty Years' War.

Charles I.'s
marriage.

In allying himself by marriage to France, Charles I. was unconsciously continuing the foreign policy of Elizabeth,—a policy which was followed by Cromwell and by Charles II. Spain in close family alliance with the Emperor constituted a greater danger to England and Protestantism than did France, threatened as she herself was

by the Hapsburgs and weakened by internal difficulties.

Nevertheless, the French marriage was far from being popular in England. To the ordinary Englishman of the day fear of Roman Catholicism destroyed his sense of perspective, and outweighed all considerations of the necessities of foreign policy.

Charles's marriage with Henrietta was therefore grudgingly accepted, though at the moment great satisfaction was felt at the outbreak of war with Spain,—the immediate author of which was Buckingham.

There is no doubt that both Charles and Buckingham honestly desired the formation of a great Protestant league which should check the progress of the Hapsburgs in Germany and redeem the Protestant cause. The only serious obstacle in the way of the execution of this project seemed to lie in the inability of France to act abroad, owing to the resistance of the Huguenots to the royal power. But that resistance seemed likely to be shortlived, and it was confidently believed that as soon as France had internal peace she would throw her weight on the side of the Protestant cause in Germany.

In the autumn of 1625 Buckingham proceeded

to The Hague, and England, Denmark, and the United Netherlands formed a league.

That Triple League proved to be the high-water mark of Charles's foreign policy, and it clearly demonstrated what were his real aims and those of Buckingham. But his alliance with Holland and Denmark brought no aid to the German Protestants, and only encouraged the Danish king to attempt single-handed to withstand the forces of the Empire and the Catholic League—a course which led to defeat and disaster.

Failure of
Charles's
foreign
policy.

The failure of Charles's foreign policy was due (1) to the disasters attending a naval expedition under Sir Edward Cecil, who in 1625 endeavoured in vain to capture Cadiz and the Spanish Plate fleet,¹ and (2) to a temporary break with France, whose minister, Richelieu, weary of the vacillating conduct of the English Government, which had ordered the seizure of French ships, and which misunderstood the questions involved in the struggle between Louis XIII. and the Huguenots, entered into a direct understanding with Spain. The French alliance thus came to an end; and the failure of the foreign policy of Charles and Buckingham naturally incensed the House of Commons,

¹ It was during this expedition that Captain Henry Bruce advocated the seizure of Gibraltar.

which insisted on the impeachment of Buckingham, the once popular minister. The policy of a French alliance had thus failed. Our ally, Christian IV., had in August 1626 been overwhelmed at the battle of Lutter, and the Catholic League was supreme in Northern Germany.

The failure of the English expedition to Rhé in the autumn of 1627 added to the distrust of the Court and of Buckingham, and justified the resistance (illustrated in the case of the Five Knights in 1627) to a forced loan. It only required the failure in 1628 of another English expedition to La Rochelle—which in October yielded to Louis XIII.'s arms—to bring to a disastrous close the early foreign policy of Charles I.

Owing to the relations then existing between Charles and his Parliament, an active foreign policy now became impossible. For in March 1629 the third Parliament of the reign was dissolved, and for nine years Charles ruled without Parliament.

Peace with
France
and Spain,
1629 and
1631.

Under these circumstances Charles could not hope to interfere with any effect in the Thirty Years' War, which was then at its height. In April 1629 he concluded the Treaty of Susa with France, and hoped by coming to an arrangement with Spain to effect the great object which

ch I
Treaty

James I. aimed at during his later years, and which he (Charles) never ceased to desire—the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick, the fugitive Count Palatine. But though in January 1631 a treaty was actually signed with Spain, Charles was to find, as James had found a few years earlier, that, come what might, Spain would take no step that was not approved of by the Emperor. Had Parliament been sitting and on good terms with the king, it is quite possible that Gustavus Adolphus would have pledged himself to recover the Palatinate.

Helpless-
ness of
Charles.

But as before, the impossibility of obtaining adequate support from England led to the breakdown of negotiations with England. The forced retirement of Charles from any active share in foreign politics coincided with the landing of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany and with Richelieu's occupation of Pinerolo, to be followed in 1631 by a treaty between France and Sweden. Though Charles might make a treaty with Spain, the antagonism of the English people to that country was in no way lessened. The outbreak of the Great Rebellion postponed for the time any hostile action, but once the civil war period was closed, hostilities were resumed by Cromwell.

The failure of his foreign policy and his want of money, due to the suspicious attitude of the House of Commons, not only tended to damp Charles's interest in foreign politics, but also to render him unable to act with any chance of success. "His whole naval policy," Mr Corbett tells us, was for the rest of his reign "devoted, with the aid of the famous Ship-money fleets, to enforcing his claim to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, and to preventing their being disturbed by operations of the belligerents."

Illustrations,
1629-1639.

It is evident that from 1629 to 1641 Charles's chief desire was to see his brother-in-law, Frederick, and, after his death in 1632, his son, restored to the Palatinate; it is equally true that he aimed at "the restoration of the navy to a position of supremacy in the British seas."

But the alliance between France and the Dutch Republic constituted a serious hindrance to his aims, and consequently he endeavoured to cultivate friendly relations with Spain, fondly hoping, as James I. had at one time hoped, that by Spanish good offices the Emperor might be led to restore the Palatinate to Spain. The death of Gustavus in 1632, and the defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen in August 1634, placed for a time the Imperialists and the Spaniards in

a position of supremacy in Germany, while the same year saw evidence of the weakness of the English navy.

Aggress-
iveness of
Holland.

In 1634 we read that "a Dunkirker chased a Hollander vessel into Yarmouth harbour and robbed her." The English navy, through the unfortunate impecuniosity of James I. and his son, had fallen into sad neglect, and was regarded by foreign nations with well-deserved contempt. In October 1634 Charles did indeed attempt, by means of ship-money writs, to raise funds to provide for the defence of the sea.

At the same time France and Holland drew closer together, and agreed to divide the Spanish Netherlands between them, and the same year (1635) the Emperor formally transferred the Palatinate to the Elector of Bavaria. Charles, therefore, realised the futility of a Spanish alliance, and was constrained to see in a French alliance the only means of gaining one of his chief objects—the restoration of the Palatinate to his nephew, Charles Lewis.

DutchEm-
bassy to
England,
1636.

As Holland was the close ally of France, it was thought opportune to send a Dutch envoy to England in 1636 to urge Charles to unite actively against Spain. To his astonishment the Dutch envoy soon realised that Charles was bent

on a fresh attempt to assert the fishing rights of England as against those enjoyed by the Dutch, and that no alliance between England and Holland was then possible. In May 1636 Charles issued a proclamation asserting his fishing rights and his determination to restrain all fishing without a licence on the English seas and coasts.

Charles, unfortunately for the success of his policy, did not summon a Parliament and lay before it the obvious necessity of providing for an efficient fleet. Consequently, what was an honest attempt to improve the navy was regarded somewhat naturally with suspicion, in spite of which, however, sufficient money was collected for the equipment of a fleet, which, under the Earl of Lindsay, enforced temporarily the recognition of the sovereignty of England in the Channel, and the honour of the flag from the Dutch. Subsequent attempts to collect revenue from the Dutch fishing fleets in the North Sea were, however, only very partially successful. In 1639 Van Tromp "openly flouted" Charles's authority by overwhelming a Spanish fleet under Oquendo, which had taken refuge in the Downs.

Defeat of
a Spanish
fleet in the
Downs by
Van
Tromp,
1639.

"Some 15,000 Spaniards perished, about 1800 were taken prisoners. The Dutch only lost two ships and about 100 killed and wounded.

Tromp had won a most crushing victory, and had annihilated the power of Spain upon the sea."¹ The chief result, so far as England was concerned, was that Charles pressed forward the collection of ship-money, that the enmity of the Dutch increased, and that the Spanish party at the English court gained strength.

The Long
Parliament,
1640.

Charles, however, was in no position to take any action against the Dutch, whose naval strength was overwhelming. His domestic difficulties were daily increasing. Scotland was in active rebellion, disaffection was rife in England, and on November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met. On May 12, 1641, the Princess Royal married the Prince of Orange, and the goodwill of the States was essential for Charles in the anxious days which were now before him.

Summary
of Charles
I.'s aims,
1629-1639.

England cannot be said to have had any definite foreign policy from 1629 to the close of the Civil War in 1649. The absence of Parliaments from 1630 to 1639 left Charles unable to pay for fleets and armies, and the meetings of the Short and Long Parliaments found Englishmen determined to devote themselves entirely to domestic matters. Charles indeed showed activity between 1629 and

¹ Edmundson, 'Anglo-Dutch Rivalry,' p. 123. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

1639. "He hawked his unvalued friendship round the Courts of Europe,"¹ and negotiated with France, Sweden, and even Spain, proposing at one time to that Power a partition of the Dutch Republic.

It must, however, be remembered that, like James I., he was sincerely anxious to restore the Palatinate to its rightful owner, but the want of money rendered his efforts quite useless.

During the Great Rebellion England, probably owing to the continuance of the Thirty Years' War, was free from all danger of foreign intervention. But with the close of the Great Rebellion England enters actively into foreign politics. Cromwell's administration was not only remarkable for the conclusion of the French alliance, for the outbreak of war with Spain, and for the opening of the final struggle between England and Holland for naval, and indeed colonial, supremacy: it witnessed the conclusion of the all-important treaty of 1654 with Portugal.

The years from 1649 to 1654 formed, however, an anxious period for Cromwell. Apart from his difficulties in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was threatened with hostility from the continent.

Cromwell's foreign policy.

Dangers from abroad—
(1) Holland and France.

Threatened with hostility from the continent

¹ Trevelyan, 'England under the Stuarts,' p. 162. London: Methuen, 1904.

The first danger to the Commonwealth was due to the schemes of William II., the Prince of Orange, who had succeeded his father, Frederick Henry, in 1647. William was a man of ability, courage, and ambition, and after the death of Charles I. he formed plans for effecting the restoration of Charles II., his brother-in-law, to the English throne. His negotiations with Mazarin resulted in a project which included the declaration of war upon Cromwell. William's sudden death in November 1651, however, relieved Cromwell of all danger of a hostile alliance between Holland and France.

(2) The
First
Dutch
War,
1652-1654.

With the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and with the establishment of the English Commonwealth in 1649, both the Dutch and English nations were able to fall back upon their commercial and colonial instincts, and to enter upon a race for supremacy on the seas and in trade. Those instincts impelled both nations to follow similar lines of development in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, while the geographical position of the two countries increased the chances of collision. All over the world the commercial interests of the two nations clashed. Religious sympathies between the English republicans and the Dutch had indeed led

leading representatives of both nations to hope for an intimate political union between the two republics. But in 1651 it was beginning to be dimly realised, even by the English Council of State, that religion was an illusory tie, and that commercial interests and colonial rivalries were of greater moment than religious sympathies. Q

The year following the death of William II. found England at war with Holland. The inevitable outbreak of hostilities between the two countries had been postponed owing to a variety of circumstances. Till the appearance and victories of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany it was impossible, in view of the successes of the Roman Catholic powers, Austria, Spain, and Bavaria, for the two leading Protestant states to enter into conflict. The outbreak of the Great Rebellion, too, absorbed the attention of England till 1649. But with the establishment of the Commonwealth the trading and colonial rivalry of England and Holland was certain to assert itself. 57

The first hostile step was taken by the Dutch, who attempted to injure English trade in the Baltic by a Treaty (March 1651) with Denmark. In October 1651 Cromwell replied by the Navigation Act, which was a direct attack upon the Dutch carrying trade, and, moreover, if

carried out, would ruin the Dutch fisheries and Dutch trade. From 1652 to 1654 the First Dutch War raged, and though by the Treaty signed on April 5, 1654, England seemed to have gained the advantage, it was quite evident that before many years were over the conflict would be renewed.

This treaty, however, marked an important epoch in England's relations with Holland, and with it a momentous determination on the part of the English nation to take a leading part as a commercial and colonising nation.

The Navigation Act thus constitutes an important epoch in the history of British Foreign Policy. The difficulties between James I. and his Parliaments, followed by the financial weakness of Charles I.'s personal government, had rendered any successful attempt to enter into rivalry with the Dutch in the East or in America impossible, while the outbreak and long continuance of the Great Rebellion in England concentrated the attention of Englishmen upon domestic affairs. Moreover, the Thirty Years' War, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, tended not only to unite Protestant nations, but forced the Dutch to devote their attention to the question of the preservation of their own independence.

The Treaty of 1654, so very advantageous to England at that time and in the future, must be placed to the credit of Cromwell, whose career during the Commonwealth and Protectorate is in so many ways of enormous importance in the history of English foreign policy.

Cromwell, who now entered upon the second and most prosperous period in his career, had broken through the circle of foes which seemed to be enclosing England, and the year 1654 saw treaties signed not only with Holland but also with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal.

Cromwell triumphant, 1654. Opening of the second period in his career.

England and Portugal had been connected in various ways since the twelfth century. In the reign of Stephen a fleet, mainly composed of Englishmen, had landed at Lisbon, and had rendered a lasting service to Christianity by capturing Lisbon from the Moors. In 1190, too, some English Crusaders on their way to Palestine remained for a time in Portugal to aid Sancho in his struggle against the Moors. To this warfare against the infidel Portugal owed its creation as an independent kingdom. The marriage of Philippa, sister of Henry IV. of England, to John King of Portugal, was followed by the great period of Portuguese enterprise and discovery, and at the close of the fifteenth century English and Portu-

Relations of England and Portugal.

Dutch war 1651-54
Treaty April 5, 1654

guese commercial interests "were overshadowed by their rivalry for the trade of Africa."¹ Nevertheless the English policy was to maintain friendly relations with Portugal, if only for commercial reasons. With Elizabeth's reign it became increasingly difficult to restrain the activities of English corsairs, especially on the Guinea Coast and in Barbary. Eventually, in 1576, a treaty was concluded between England and Portugal, but in 1580 the latter country was annexed by Spain, and remained a portion of the Spanish Empire till 1640. The immediate result of the annexation was the fall of the Portuguese power in India, much to the advantage of England and Holland. In 1642 Portugal renewed its alliance with the English government, and on the whole remained friendly to, if not actually closely allied with, England. For a short period, however, after the death of Charles I. Portugal found herself at war with England. This was due to the presence of Prince Rupert and Blake with mutually hostile fleets in Lisbon harbour. John IV. was unable to satisfy the Commonwealth leaders, and war ensued which lasted till 1654.

It was in that year that the foreign policy of

¹ 'Transactions of the Royal Society.' Third Series, vol. i. p. 156, 1907.

England, as far as Portugal was concerned, became fixed upon a stable and consistent basis by the Treaty of 1654, which favoured the trade of England with Brazil, and gained for English traders religious freedom and various fiscal and other privileges.

In 1660 the Treaty of 1654 was confirmed by the marriage compact of 1660, by which Charles agreed to marry Katharine of Braganza, and received Tangier and Bombay. Throughout the remainder of the century the trade of England with Portugal grew in importance, more, however, to the advantage of England than of Portugal.

In the war which broke out in 1689, in which Western and Central Europe was involved, Portugal took no part, and "the trade with Portugal was hailed by English economists as affording a possible compensation for the lost commerce of France."¹ In 1703, however, the Methuen Treaty not only bound England and Portugal in a closer political alliance, but redressed the balance from a commercial point of view. English statesmen realised the political importance of Portugal to England. The Spanish Succession War was in full blast, and the Portuguese alliance, as in

¹ 'Royal Historical Society Transactions, 1897.' Third Series, vol. i. p. 170.

Napoleonic days, was of immense value to England. While Portugal admitted English cloths, giving England "a monopoly for her woollen goods in the Portuguese markets," England granted Portugal preferential duties on her wines. Both politically and commercially the treaty was of great advantage to both countries. At the same time it must be noted that Portugal soon regarded the results of the treaty with dissatisfaction, and made various attempts during the eighteenth century to free herself from the English dominance.

But in spite of continuous jealousy of the English merchants felt by the Portuguese Government, the two nations remained on a friendly footing. The French Revolution, and the aid given to Portugal by Arthur Wellesley and the English troops, tended to bind the two countries together more closely than ever.

War with
Spain,
1655.
Alliance
with
France,
1657.

The Dutch war was no sooner ended in 1654 than Cromwell had to decide upon a difficult question. Was he to aid France or Spain in their struggle, which continued after the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia?

Cromwell's ideas as to foreign politics were narrow and somewhat confused. He appears to have desired the union of the northern Protestant

states with England in order to deal a telling blow at the Roman Catholic countries: but the days of great religious wars were over, and the commercial idea occupied the chief place in men's minds.

Cromwell had already been forced into war with Protestant Holland on commercial grounds; in 1655, as the Spaniards would not grant freedom of worship to Englishmen in Spain or the right of trading in the West Indies to English merchants, he found himself at war with Spain, in alliance with France, and in possession of Jamaica, captured from the Spaniards.¹

War, however, was not definitely declared upon Spain till October 1655, and a definite French alliance was not formed till March 1657.

Success attended Cromwell's policy. A great part of the Spanish Plate treasure fleet was captured by Stayner in September 1656, the Spanish fleet was destroyed at Santa Cruz in April 1657 by Blake, and in June 1658 Cromwell received from the French Dunkirk as a reward for the help which an English contingent had given in a battle against the Spaniards.

In considering the general tenor of Cromwell's

¹ Penn and Venables, before capturing Jamaica, had failed to take Hispaniola.

foreign policy, it must be observed that, so far as Spain and France were concerned, he continued the policy of Elizabeth.

The hostile criticism of this portion of his policy which is continually made is worthless. Both France and Spain were exhausted, and Cromwell could not possibly foresee the extraordinary development of the French power which was to take place under Louis XIV. Neither could he foresee the rapid decadence which was soon to befall Spain. Moreover, the refusal of the Spanish ambassador to grant toleration or freedom of trade to English merchants left Cromwell no alternative but to attack Spain by land and by sea. In his hostility to Holland his policy was the reverse of that of Elizabeth, and he simply and justifiably adapted himself to the changed relations existing between the two countries and to new circumstances which had arisen.

Holland was in his day England's greatest commercial rival, and Cromwell brought to a head the struggle with the Dutch which in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. was threatening to become acute.

Foreign
policy of
Charles II.
and
James II.

The fact that Charles II. and James II. continued Cromwell's policy of alliance with France is no condemnation whatever of the Protector's

line of action. Had Cromwell lived between the years 1660 and 1680, he would undoubtedly have substituted the policy of William III. Till 1674, however, the attention of the English nation was riveted upon its trade and colonial rivalry with Holland, and Charles II., in continuing Cromwell's policy of hostility to the Dutch people, was acting in full agreement with the wishes of his people.

That Cromwell's desire to base his foreign policy upon religion was impossible, and that he thought at one time that a union of the Protestant states was feasible, does not detract from the success of his foreign policy. "He promoted the material welfare of his country," writes Professor Firth, "and saved her from foreign interference in her domestic affairs. He gave England a great position abroad."¹

The accession of Charles II. was followed by no striking changes in foreign policy. His marriage with Katharine of Braganza in 1662 strengthened the ties between England and Portugal. He retained Cromwell's conquests from Spain, and hostilities continued in the West Indies. It was not till 1667 that a treaty of peace and commerce

Charles II.
continues
Crom-
well's
foreign
policy.

¹ 'O. Cromwell,' by C. H. Firth, p. 389. London: Putnam's Sons.

closed the war between the two countries. By that time it was becoming evident that Spain was no longer a state to be feared. The danger to the balance of power was shortly to come from France, which country under Louis XIV., who was aided by capable ministers, such as Colbert, had recovered rapidly from her efforts in the Thirty Years' War.

The
Second
Dutch
War,
1665-1667.

The attention of the English nation, however, was during the early years of Charles's reign concentrated upon Holland. The determination of Charles's subjects to obtain a large share of the world's commerce was agreeable to the king, who had personal grievances against the Dutch Government. Not that Charles or Clarendon desired an outbreak of hostilities; but the war-fever in England was irresistible, and war was declared on March 14, 1665. In attempting to secure allies English diplomacy met with a striking defeat. Charles's one ally was the bellicose Bishop of Münster, and he was compelled to make peace with Holland early in 1666.

In this war England found herself actively opposed by Louis XIV., and indirectly by Denmark, Brandenburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg. The struggle was short but fierce, and remarkable for the appearance of the Dutch fleet

in the Thames and the burning of English ships in the Medway in June 1667.

The invasion of the Spanish Netherlands the previous month by a French army, however, hastened the conclusion of a short-lived peace between England and Holland at Breda in July.

Thus in the early years of his reign Charles II.'s foreign policy was in great measure one that commended itself to the nation. He continued with Holland the struggle which Cromwell had initiated, and though the French invasion of the Spanish Netherlands led to the Triple Alliance of Great Britain, Holland, and Sweden in 1668, he was not taking a course which was unpopular with the English people when he embarked the country upon the Third Dutch War in 1672.

The Triple
Alliance
of 1668.

In 1674, however, it was clear that Holland's strength was exhausted, and that Great Britain had no longer cause to fear Dutch rivalry on the sea or in the colonies. By the Treaty of Breda in 1667 Great Britain had already secured from Holland New York and the Dutch colonies between Virginia and New England. The French successes in 1667 and between 1672 and 1674 made it evident that the enemy to be feared was no longer Holland but France. In 1674 public opinion in England showed its realisation of this fact, and

The
Third
Dutch
War,
1672-1674.

the Treaty of Westminster closed the Third Dutch War.

English
foreign
policy
dynastic,
1674-1688.

From that time, however, till 1688 the foreign policy of Great Britain ceased to be national and was purely dynastic. Though after 1674 France was England's chief enemy, the significance of French rivalry was not at once appreciated by Englishmen. The nation had for so long a period been accustomed to regard Spain as England's natural foe, and Holland as England's commercial rival, that some years had yet to elapse before the effects of Louis' European aggressions upon England's position was realised. Consequently the friendly if not subservient attitude adopted frequently by Charles II. and James II. towards Louis was viewed with what has been termed an "unwise apathy."

The gradual growth of a feeling of resentment against France after 1674 was due at first to economic rather than political causes. Colbert's commercial policy caused in 1678 a prohibitive Act against French imports, and encouraged the growth of a general feeling of irritation against France, while the alarm in 1678 and 1679, consequent upon the Titus Oates revelations, tended to make Louis XIV. an object of suspicion. "The long duel between the two nations," which began

in 1688, was thus largely economic in origin ; " its religious aspect was only created by the Edict of Nantes " ; it became political in 1688.¹

After 1674 there was a tendency for England and Holland to draw together. Danby was himself in favour of a Dutch alliance, and though by Charles's wish he carried on negotiations with Louis, it was due to his influence that the marriage of William of Orange with Mary, daughter of James II., took place in November 1677. The universal rejoicings in London at the time of the marriage showed unmistakably that the nation was now definitely opposed to France. Louis' intrigues and Charles's want of money postponed for some ten years the consummation of the national wish. The Peace of Nimeguen in 1678 left Holland secure, but permanently weakened. Henceforth, till 1748, in all European wars Holland was always England's ally. The Popish Plot, the fall of Danby, and the struggles over the Exclusion Bill, however, diverted public attention from questions of foreign policy, and had several disastrous results. The refusal of the Commons in 1680 to vote money for the defence of Tangier led to its evacuation in 1684, while the conduct of the Oxford Parliament

¹ Hertz, ' English Public Opinion After the Restoration,' pp. 96-100. London : Fisher Unwin, 1902

in 1681 brought about the triumph of Charles II. during the last years of his reign. Naturally unwilling to summon a new Parliament, Charles made a secret treaty with Louis, who, anxious for a free hand on the continent, paid Charles a large annual subsidy. Louis was thus enabled till 1688 to pursue his aggressive policy, for James II., who was chiefly anxious to secure the recognition of Roman Catholicism in England, ignored foreign politics. The Emperor was involved in a fierce war with the Turks, which continued till 1699, and thus Western and Central Europe seemed at Louis' mercy. In 1688 Europe was thus in great danger, owing to Louis' determination to attack Germany in order to secure for France the permanent acquisition of the territories which he had occupied in the years following the Treaty of Nimeguen. Europe was now face to face with a crisis which threatened the total destruction of the balance of power.

Departure
of William
of Orange
for Eng-
land, Nov.
1688.

At this critical moment in the history of Europe all depended upon the attitude of England. If that country threw in its lot with the opponents of France, the aggressive policy of Louis might be checked and the balance of power on the continent somewhat redressed.

Fortunately for Europe, Louis made the most

serious mistake in his life. Instead of preventing the expedition of William of Orange to England, by throwing an army on the borders of the Netherlands, he concentrated his forces on the Rhine, and took no active steps to hinder the departure of William for England. Louis was led to commit this fatal mistake for several reasons. He did not believe that William would meet with any immediate success in England. Moreover, James, apparently not realising the consequences of any serious danger to his throne, declined Louis' offer of assistance, and "denied the existence of any alliance with France." Only too late he discovered the magnitude of his misconception of the political situation.

On November 6 William was in Torbay. On December 23 James fled to France, and in February 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

The Revolution
of 1688.

Europe was saved from a permanent French domination, and the Second Hundred Years' War opened.

PERIOD VI.

1688-1815.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

PART I.

1688-1713.

THE FIRST TWO PHASES OF THE SECOND
HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

CONTENTS.

British foreign policy after 1688—The Second Hundred Years' War
—The views of Sir John Seeley and of the Hon. W. Peel—
National character of the war—European not Colonial issues of
chief importance till 1713—1690 a critical year—England safe
after 1690—Whig and Tory views on foreign policy—The
Spanish Succession question—Louis XIV.'s mistakes—Causes
of the Spanish Succession War—The war and its importance—
The Treaty of Utrecht.

ARGUMENT.

FROM 1688 to 1815 is known as the Second Hundred Years' War. The period covers a most critical time in British history. It consisted of a struggle with France and Spain for security in Europe and for Empire abroad. The victory was gained at the Peace of Paris in 1763, but from that date to 1815 various attempts were made to destroy the British Empire.

These attempts were successful as far as regarded the American colonies, which gained independence. This loss was partly made up for by British colonisation in Australia and New Zealand, and by the firm establishment of the British dominion in India.

The herculean attempts of the Directory and Napoleon to destroy the British Empire failed, and in 1815 that Empire was safe from all external attacks.

THE FIRST TWO PHASES OF THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

It has been stated that British foreign policy British foreign policy. was dynastic before the Revolution of 1688 and national afterwards. Like many other sweeping statements, the above is only partially true. The opposition of France, which continued till the accession of Elizabeth, the hostility to Spain, which definitely begins with the reign of Mary, and the jealousy of Holland, which becomes manifest in James I.'s reign, were all essentially national and popular expressions of the feelings of the English nation. On the other hand, the friendship shown by James I. to Spain, and the intimate relations established by Charles II. and James II. with France, were not regarded with favour by the English people, and to that extent the policy of these two kings was dynastic.

In 1688 what the late Professor Seeley termed Opening of the Second Hundred Years' War, 1688. "the Second Hundred Years' War" opened. From that year a series of attacks were made by France,

and after 1701 in conjunction with Spain, upon the English power in the Old and New Worlds and in India. In face of these attacks, the result of careful deliberation, England was compelled to defend herself, and indirectly to aid in defending Europe.

Seeley's
view of the
character
of the war.

From 1688 can be traced the growth of the Empire, the result to some extent of the success which attended British foreign policy. Professor Seeley laid it down that "the eighteenth century saw a duel between England and France for the possession of the new world," and that "in America and in Asia France and England stood in direct competition for a prize of absolutely incalculable value." In this "eager competition for territory," it is, he says, impossible "to justify the means adopted by our countrymen," or "to approve the conduct of those who built up Greater Britain."¹ For the sake of plunder or empty ambition, and at times from "a philanthropic desire to put an end to enormous evils," we founded our Empire.

View of
Mr George
Peel.

Mr George Peel, in 'The Friends of England,' finds it impossible to believe that the Empire was founded on such an unsatisfactory basis. He holds that Great Britain only acted "because the

¹ Seeley, 'The Expansion of England,' p. 28 *et seq.*

very existence of this country and the safety of her civilisation depended on resisting the policy of France both in England and the world over-sea." ¹

According to Mr Peel, the Empire is not the result of commercial rapacity or the work of chance; it was not built up "in a fit of absence of mind." He holds that the statesmen who gradually built up the Empire pursued a consistent policy. They realised that the need of self-preservation, owing to the pressure from without, called for great efforts. Consequently we find that the resistance to the French and Spanish monarchies in the eighteenth century forced us into a policy of expansion. England, he says, was driven "by the stress of sheer necessity" to adopt a policy which was "eminently justifiable." Unless the Bourbons had been consistently opposed, England's position in Europe would have been destroyed.

At the same time, it cannot be asserted that our colonial Empire owed its origin entirely to pressure from abroad, nor that the impulse of necessity was always the justifiable cause of Great Britain's entry into war, or into the path

Conclu-
sion.

¹ Peel, 'The Friends of England,' p. 80. London: John Murray, 1905.

of colonial expansion. The war of Jenkins' Ear in 1739, according to one eminent historian, was far from being a necessary war. Englishmen in this and many other cases have been venture-some and aggressive, and eager in the race for conquest. Our colonial Empire was "the result of a natural expansion from a convenient central base." That Empire owed much to the aggressiveness of France and Spain in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century, but it would never have continued to expand had it not been for the fact that in the British race is to be found a "union of qualities fitted to make the people both a conquering and a colonising race."

Great
Britain's
defensive
wars.

In defence of the very existence of Great Britain her sons fought the Bourbons in the Spanish Succession War, in the Austrian Succession War, and in the Seven Years' War. At the close of the Seven Years' War the British Empire was founded with the triumph of the English over France in Canada, India, and the West Indies. From that time till 1814 France, and, till 1807, Spain, seldom ceased from their efforts to destroy the victorious British Empire.

The struggle then, which began with the accession of William and Mary to the English throne, has a very deep significance not only in the his-

tory of Great Britain and of Europe, but also in that of the larger world.

The accession of William III. and Mary marks the moment when the foreign policy of England became distinctly national. Their accession was also a matter of European as well as of national importance. The whole weight of the power of England was thrown into the scale against Louis XIV., and just as in the sixteenth century she had contributed to save Europe from the domination of Spain, so in the years from 1689 to 1713 she was equally successful in aiding Europe in freeing itself from the domination of France. In many respects the relative positions of England and France were similar to those occupied by the two countries a little over a century later, when Napoleon attempted to carry out a policy even more daring than that aimed at by Louis XIV.

From 1688
British
foreign
policy is
national.

At the outset the object of the foreign policy of England on William's accession was to defeat the projects of Louis XIV. indirectly in the colonies and in India, and more directly in Ireland and on the continent. In the New World the French had already possessed themselves of Canada and of Louisiana. If the French could establish a line of forts behind the English settlements, the ex-

pansion of these settlements westwards might be permanently checked.

In India the rivalry of the two nations was as yet by no means serious, and as long as Aurungzebe lived European rivalry had little opportunity of showing itself.

European
and not
colonial
issues of
chief im-
portance,
1689-1713.

As a matter of fact, Louis XIV.'s chief energies were devoted to the expansion and consolidation of French power in Europe. He possessed a strong fleet, and with Ireland in a state of open rebellion it seemed by no means impossible that the fleet would not only sweep the Channel, but also aid in the re-establishment of James II. in England. That accomplished, his plans for expansion on the continent stood an excellent chance of achieving success. The supremacy of France in Europe would thus be built on lasting foundations.

1690 a
critical
year.

The year 1690 was a critical year for England, and the foreign policy which William III. had inaugurated seemed not unlikely to result in disastrous failure. In 1690 the united English and Dutch fleets were defeated in the battle of Beachy Head, and had Tourville decided to pursue his foes vigorously, and even to invade England, the advantages which France would have gained would have been impossible to overrate. As it

was, "the inertness or weakness of Tourville or the unreadiness of the French transports" prevented an invasion of England, and thus helped to secure the Crown of England for William III., who became the centre of the alliance against Louis XIV.

From that critical time British foreign policy, though it suffered several serious blows, was on the whole and on vital points successful. The attempt of Louis XIV. to occupy William in Ireland while he attacked Germany was defeated by the English victory of the Boyne on July 1, 1690, while on May 19, 1692, the defeat of the French fleet at the battle of La Hogue saved England from invasion and established the supremacy of the British navy.

The battle of La Hogue was not only the last naval encounter in the war, "it is one of the landmarks in the rise of British naval supremacy."¹ Further, it enabled William to devote his efforts to the work of checking Louis XIV.'s policy on the continent. The fortunes of the war during the next few years varied. Till 1695 Luxembourg proved victorious in his encounters with William. But in August of that year, Luxembourg having

England
safe after
1690.

¹ Lodge, 'The Political History of England, 1660-1702,' p. 379.
London: John Murray.

died, William captured Namur, while in the Mediterranean the English fleet under Russell rode supreme.

Early in 1697 Louis, who had made overtures for peace in 1694, renewed these overtures, and as his proposals included the recognition of William as King of England, that monarch agreed to treat.

The views
of Whigs
and Tories
on foreign
policy.

During this first period of the Second Hundred Years' War there was little evidence that the nation as a whole realised, as William did, the import of the struggle in which it was engaged. The Revolution, it has been said, "gave to the national policy the impress of maritime and commercial ambition, but men still hesitated to adopt the place which William wished England to occupy in European politics."¹

In fact, from 1688 to 1713 politicians were divided into two classes. The one realised the necessity of sharing in the struggles on the continent, and desired that England should "play a decisive part in the affairs of the world"; the other supported a policy of non-interference abroad. It advocated, in the event of war, a policy of naval and commercial enterprise, objected

¹ Hertz, 'English Public Opinion After the Restoration.' London : Fisher Unwin, 1902.

to a standing army, and resented the growth of the national debt.

This dislike of English intervention on the continent was held frequently by a section—at times a powerful one—of Englishmen long after the Spanish Succession War. A section of Whigs opposed Chatham's foreign policy, while between the close of the Crimean War and 1874, non-intervention on the continent was popular with the Liberal Party; and there was much that could be urged in favour of the partial adoption of such a policy. During the years immediately following 1688, however, such a policy would have been disastrous to England and to Europe.

The Treaty of Ryswick was only a truce, the danger from French ambition remained, and Europe might at any moment be confronted with some fresh proof of the aggressive designs of the old French king. Such an opportunity of again disturbing Europe presented itself over the question of the Spanish Succession, which, owing to the imminent death of the childless Charles II., King of Spain, might at any moment demand solution.

The
Spanish
Succession
question.

The two famous Partition Treaties, however, were apparently honest attempts on the part of William and Louis to prepare beforehand for that eventuality.

The prospect of a partition of the Spanish dominions was naturally unpopular in Spain, and when Charles II. died on November 1, 1700, it was found that he had bequeathed his kingdom to Philip, the grandson of Louis. The acceptance of the will by Louis, in spite of his adhesion to the Second Partition Treaty, roused the fears of William and the Emperor, but in England the French king's action was received with equanimity, partly owing to the fact that domestic politics were engrossing the attention of the English nation.

Louis
XIV.'s
mistakes.

Fortunately, as it turned out, Louis misjudged the political situation, and, like many monarchs in later days, failed entirely to appreciate the nature of the British character. Instead of proceeding quietly, and devoting his efforts to the firm establishment of Philip on the Spanish throne, he acted as the great Napoleon acted after the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, misjudged the situation, misread the British character, and by adopting a provocative policy brought upon Europe the Spanish Succession War.

Causes
of the
Spanish
Succession
War.

It soon became evident in England that the united French and Spanish fleets would, in the case of war, combine against English commerce, and it was believed that the Crowns of France and Spain might one day be united. But what specially

tended to awaken the English nation to the necessity of opposing Louis was his seizure of the Barrier Fortresses, and his recognition in September 1701 of the Pretender's claim to the English throne.

The seizure of the Barrier Fortresses, involving as it did a menace to the independence of Holland, roused the Dutch people, who at once declared for war, while the recognition of the Pretender as King of England touched the English nation in its tenderest point.

The Spanish Succession War, the outbreak of which in May 1702 immediately followed the accession of Anne in March, marks the second phase in the "Second Hundred Years' War." The crisis resembled in many respects that of the years immediately preceding the Spanish Armada, and that which led to the war of 1793.

The Spanish Succession War had been forced upon England, and proved to be one of vital importance. "French mercantilism," writes Mr Leadam, "enforced by the joint action of Spain with France, threatening Dutch and English trade at all points, was a menace to their very existence as European Powers of the first rank."¹

¹ Leadam, 'The Political History of England, 1702-1766,' p. 6. London: Longmans, 1909.

The close connection now established between France and Spain was in great measure to continue till the Peninsular War. The formidable character of the alliance between the two Bourbon states proved an even greater menace to the peace of Europe than had been the union of the Empire and Spain under Charles V.

Fortunately England found in Marlborough a general and statesman of extraordinary merit, and while her fleet, as was the case a hundred years later, after the battle of Trafalgar, rode supreme at sea, her armies and those of her allies proved victorious in the Netherlands and on the Danube.

The Whig
Declara-
tion of
1707.

In one respect the policy enunciated by the Whigs in 1707 with regard to the future of Spain was not carried out. In that year the Whigs declared that no peace should be made so long as a Bourbon ruled in Spain. Before the war closed they realised, as Napoleon did later, that Spain could be overrun, but could not be conquered. ✓

Otherwise the objects of the Grand Alliance, as expressed at the beginning of the war, were successfully attained. By the terms of that alliance France and Spain were never to be united under one sovereign, the Spanish Netherlands were to be defended on the French side by a barrier of fortresses, Dutch and English commerce were to be

safeguarded, the Emperor was to be given the Italian possessions of Spain.

These objects were gained, and the future of the British colonies then existing, as well as that of those to be founded later, was safeguarded by the victories of Blenheim and Ramillies, the results of which were secured by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

The importance of the Spanish Succession War.

Holland had been saved from all danger of French aggression, and its independence was guaranteed. The Spanish Netherlands, moreover, passed to Austria, on whom now rested the chief responsibility of keeping the Barrier Fortresses in good repair. Moreover, while the Emperor secured the Milanese, Naples, and Sardinia, to the House of Savoy was granted Sicily.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

In other respects the power of France had been checked. She was compelled to give up her claims upon Newfoundland and the adjacent islands, St Kitts, and the Hudson's Bay settlements, and to yield Acadia to Great Britain. To that latter Power the results of the war were of the utmost import. The "outworks of Canada" had been ceded, and the foundations of her Western Empire were laid. Gibraltar, the value of which was not fully appreciated till the War of American Independence, was, with Minorca,

secured, and a strong position in the Mediterranean established. The Asiento was a gain for English trade and a blow at a Spanish monopoly.

The foreign policy of William III. and Anne had proved successful, and England stood forward as the "supreme maritime and commercial power in the world."

PERIOD VI.

1688-1815.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

PART II.

1713-1763.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

CONTENTS.

The Treaty of Utrecht—The character of future wars with France and Spain—France after the Peace—The Triple Alliance, 1717—The Quadruple Alliance, 1718—The crisis in the Baltic, 1714-1721—Great Britain's northern policy—The Treaties of Nystäd and Charlottenberg—The Congress of Cambray—The First Treaty of Vienna, 1725—War averted—The Treaty of Seville, 1729—The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731—The Polish Succession War—The War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739—The fall of Walpole, 1742—The First Silesian War—The Austrian Succession War—Maria Theresa's position, July 1742—The Treaty of Worms—The Second Family Compact—Carteret's policy—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—The situation in 1748—Pessimism in England—How far justifiable—The Diplomatic Revolution—The Seven Years' War—Great Britain triumphant—The Peace of Paris.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE Treaty of Utrecht has been said to mark The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. “the end of a period of European history, in which wars and treaties of peace professed to be made in defence of some principle or common interest, and the beginning of a period in which self-interest is the only principle.”¹ The late Professor Seeley, in his ‘Expansion of England,’ writes in a similar strain. “Taken together,” he says, “the whole successful development which culminated at Utrecht secularised and materialised the English people as nothing had ever done before.” The Treaty of Utrecht was on the whole a satisfactory settlement, and is rightly said to have “stood the test of time better than most diplomatic edifices.” Louis XIV. was humbled, the overgrown power of France was checked, Germany was freed from the constant fear of invasion, and a great impetus

¹ Gardiner, ‘Students’ History of England,’ p. 697. London : Longmans.

was given to British colonial and commercial expansion.

Change in
the charac-
ter of the
wars with
France and
Spain.

After the Treaty of Utrecht the character of the conflict with France and Spain changes, and the issues become more vital. The struggle between Great Britain and the Bourbons is for ascendancy on the sea, in India, in the West Indies, and on the American continent. It was no longer a religious contest, though while Louis XIV. lived there was always a reminiscence of the Counter-Reformation about his policy. After 1733 the Bourbon powers again become aggressive, and their hostility to Great Britain is continued by the Directory and Napoleon.

Position of
France in
1713.

Though France had suffered many defeats in the Spanish Succession War, she remained one of the most important of the European states. During Louis XIV.'s reign she had added to her kingdom Flanders, Artois, Roussillon, Franche Comté, and Strassburg. A French dynasty was firmly established in Spain. Though temporarily checked, France remained a most formidable power, and the severe struggles between Great Britain and the Bourbon states of France and Spain were only postponed for a time, to break out more vigorously than ever after 1739.

In 1717, owing to the temporary disagreement between Philip V. of Spain and the Regent Orleans, a Triple Alliance was formed between England, France, and Holland, and till 1743, owing to the efforts of Walpole and Fleury, no hostilities took place between these nations. But the period from 1717 to 1743 is merely a parenthesis in the history of the relations of England and France, and was a period of rest preparatory to the great struggle between 1743 and 1763.

The Triple
Alliance of
1717.

During this period of peace between England and France, the foreign policy pursued by George I. and II. has been often severely criticised, and as often vigorously defended.

England's alliance with France in 1717 seemed at first sight to imply a weakening of her connection with the Emperor, whose relations with France were far from friendly. But in 1718 the Emperor was included in the alliance, which thereupon became the Quadruple Alliance, the first duty of which was to establish peace in the Mediterranean. There Spanish forces, at the instigation of Elizabeth Farnese and Alberoni, had not only occupied Sardinia but also Sicily in order to prevent the seizure of the latter island by the Emperor.

Great
Britain's
foreign
policy
after 1717.

The
Quadruple
Alliance,
1718.
Spain
coerced
and
alienated.

George I.'s attention was at this time concentrated upon a war in the Baltic, where Charles XII.'s schemes ran counter to those of Hanover, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia. It was therefore inconvenient for the British Government to be called upon to deal with a fresh crisis in the Mediterranean, and accordingly the members of the Quadruple Alliance broke the arrangements of the Treaty of Utrecht with regard to Sardinia and Sicily, and ignored the rights of Spain over the latter island. Spain was attacked by sea and by land, and the Emperor was put in possession of Sicily, the House of Savoy, which had received it at the Utrecht settlement, being given Sardinia.

The policy of England, as of that of France, has been described as "precipitate and brutal." The ministers of George I. were, however, determined to have their hands free in the Baltic, and found in France a useful ally. Compared with England, France was weak, and for dynastic reasons Dubois aided the English to secure Bremen and Verden, and to coerce Spain.

From that time Spain naturally indulged in feelings of animosity against Great Britain, which had taken a leading part (by the battle of Cape Passaro) in bringing about her withdrawal from Sicily. Henceforward Spain seized every oppor-

tunity, down to 1807, to avenge herself upon Great Britain. In 1719, on the initiative of Alberoni, a small Spanish force landed on the west coast of Scotland. Rob Roy, however, gave it no assistance, and the whole force was captured. In 1720 Spain was forced to relinquish hostilities, but in 1725 she allied with Austria by the First Treaty of Vienna against us, and in 1727 made a vain effort to recover Gibraltar. In 1739 she and England engage in the war of Jenkins' Ear; at the close of the Seven Years' War she allies with France against us; in 1770 she urges France to help her in attacking us; in 1779 she joins our enemies and endeavours to retake Gibraltar; in 1796 she unites with France, and aids her by sea and by land.

The battle of Trafalgar, however, destroys her sea power, and two years later she rises against Napoleon, and, with the aid of Great Britain, is largely instrumental in bringing about his downfall.

In the early years of George I.'s reign the depth of Spanish hostility was not realised. After the battle of Cape Passaro the energies of the English Government were fully occupied in the Baltic, when the death of Charles XII. in 1718 found Great Britain, owing to a difference over

The crisis
in the
Baltic,
1714-1721.

Mecklenburg, in opposition to the Russian scheme of a partial dismemberment of Sweden.

Great
Britain's
policy
during the
Northern
War.

During this Northern War the policy of Great Britain was partly influenced by commercial, partly by political considerations. The establishment of Russian influence over Sweden would endanger British naval supremacy in the Baltic, and would interfere seriously with that supply of timber which was so essential for the building of ships. Moreover, till the death of Charles XII. the Jacobites had looked to Sweden for active assistance. The friendship established between Great Britain and Sweden after the death of Charles XII. in December 1718 came as a great blow to the Jacobite hopes. In checking the partition of Sweden, Great Britain was following a policy which was not only advantageous for her own interests, but was also in agreement with the Hanoverian interests of George I.

Hanover was entering upon a policy of aggrandisement in Germany, it was becoming a very serious rival of Prussia in the race for political leadership in North Germany, and the Swedish alliance was likely to be of great advantage to its elector. To Ulrica Eleanora, the ruler of Sweden, friendship with Great Britain seemed the only alternative to a position of vassalage

to Russia. Carteret's diplomatic skill at Stockholm, backed up by the presence of a British fleet under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, brought it about that in 1720 a defensive treaty was signed by Great Britain and Sweden against Russia and Denmark. To the influence of Great Britain was due a treaty between Sweden and Prussia, followed by a treaty between Sweden and Denmark. It might with justice be asserted in England that the British Government had awed the Tsar, saved Sweden, and defeated Spain's last hope of "forming a strong alliance against Great Britain in the North."

In these transactions it is evident that the interests of the British nation and those of George I. were not exactly identical. The policy of Great Britain in the North, in the opinion of most Englishmen, should have been limited to keeping the Baltic open; while to George I. and his Hanoverian minister the main object of the presence of the British fleet in the Baltic was to secure the possession of Bremen and Verden. In return for the formal cession of Bremen and Verden in 1720, the Swedish Government considered that it could rely upon the aid of Great Britain in its struggle with Russia, which continued till 1721. Nevertheless the British fleet

was unable to check the Russian successes in Swedish territory, and the Peace of Nystäd in 1721, by which Russia gained all Livonia and a dominant position in the Baltic, was due to French and not to British mediation.

The possession of Bremen and Verden by Hanover remained the practical result of Great Britain's policy in the Baltic. Till 1738 Sweden showed no further sign of a desire to check the growth of Russian influence upon her fortunes. She had disappeared from the rank of great Powers, and though Carteret in 1723 advocated as a check to Russia the mobilisation of a British squadron in the Baltic in support of Swedish interests, George I., whose influence over the foreign policy of Great Britain was felt during all his reign, found that he was not likely to receive any support in England for such action. Russian influence was thus allowed to assert itself in Sweden, and with the exception of the short interval from 1738 to 1743 it received no check till the accession of Gustavus III. in 1772.

Criticism
of Great
Britain's
policy in
the Baltic,
1714-1721.

England's action throughout has been severely criticised. It is often said that the interests of England were sacrificed by George I. to a Hanoverian policy. There is no doubt that the

position of Sweden, certainly after the death of Charles XII., was not unlike that of Poland and Turkey during the eighteenth century, but at the same time it must be remembered that England was deeply interested in Sweden's future. The Baltic timber trade was of great importance to England for the building of ships and houses, and especially so at a time when the forests in Ireland were wellnigh exhausted. Had Russia secured complete domination over the Baltic the supplies of naval stores to England would have been seriously endangered. The policy of England was thus to a great extent swayed by the absolute necessity of maintaining her naval supremacy in the Baltic. At the same time, it must be noted that the possibility of obtaining naval stores from the American plantations was gradually being recognised.

Moreover, George's chief interest no doubt was in Hanover. Hanover "was entering on a period of political expansion," and was in reality a very serious rival of Prussia in the struggle for the leading place among the North German states. In supporting Sweden between 1718 and 1721, George I. and the English Government were in fact supporting Hanover. Thus in the northern policy of George and his ministers, it must be

recognised that the problems to be decided were exceptionally difficult of solution.

The reconciliation of Charles XII. with Peter the Great, and the readiness of Alberoni to aid their projects—as shown in the futile Spanish expedition to Scotland in 1719,—is an illustration of the difficulties which had threatened the English Government. It remains, however, true that the attitude adopted by George I. and his ministers with regard to the Mecklenburg difficulty was most unwise, and resulted in the alienation of Russia—"a signal failure of British statesmanship."¹

The
Treaty of
Charlot-
tenberg,
1723.

After Nystäd, affairs in the north of Europe continued to occupy the attention of the English ministers. The close of the Northern War had left Russia predominant in the Baltic, and the object of suspicion on the part of Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. Sweden looked for protection to George I., and Denmark attempted, though in vain, to make defensive treaties with England and Sweden. Prussia was more successful. The king had married George I.'s daughter, and she supported her husband's aim—viz., the establishment of a close political union with Great Britain.

¹ Ward, 'Great Britain and Hanover,' p. 93. Oxford.

Like most of his contemporaries, Frederick William held what appears to us now to be an exaggerated view of the power of Russia. Prussia was in a somewhat isolated position, and the prospect of a Franco-Russian alliance explains the anxiety of Frederick William to bring about a close political union between his country and Great Britain.

Townshend and Walpole were in favour of such an alliance, and in September George I. signed at Berlin the Treaty of Charlottenberg.¹

The fear of an alliance between France and Russia may also have influenced the English king and his ministers. In August 1723 Dubois had died, and his successor, the Comte de Morville, was openly in favour of an alliance with Russia. The news of the Treaty of Charlottenberg, however, checked the tendency toward a Franco-Russian alliance, and strengthened the reputation of England in France. Morville abandoned his negotiations with Russia, the Anglo-French Alliance of 1717 remained a guarantee for the peace of Europe, while the alliance between Great Britain and Prussia was regarded by France as a useful counterpoise to the power of the Hapsburgs.

¹ 'English Historical Review,' Jan. 1912, pp. 52-77.

The Congress of
Cambray, 1722.
The First Treaty of
Vienna, 1725.

The Treaty of Nystäd which marked Russia's triumph in the Baltic was signed in August 1721, and in the previous April Walpole had become First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Till his retirement in 1730 Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, was, however, chiefly responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs. The basis of our foreign policy was the alliance with France, and both Spain and Austria were apparently on friendly terms with us. There seemed, therefore, no foreign complications likely to cause any serious anxiety, especially as it had been arranged that a Congress should meet at Cambray, which should guarantee the eventual possession of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, and settle certain outstanding matters of dispute between the Emperor and the King of Spain. To the Hanoverian advisers of George I. and to the latter himself, devotion for the House of Austria was an article of faith. But it soon appeared that the continuance of friendly relations with the Emperor was a matter of difficulty owing to his formation of the Ostend East India Trading Company, the object of which was to share in the trade then monopolised by Great Britain and Holland. The Congress of Cambray was opened in 1722, but

Charles was unwilling to yield on the subject of the Ostend Company, while Elizabeth Farnese grew impatient at the dilatoriness which characterised the proceedings of the Congress, and in 1725 showed a natural indignation at the dismissal of the Infanta from France.¹ The result was that Spain and Austria came together and agreed to the First Treaty of Vienna in April 1725, which was followed by the Alliance of Hanover in August between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, the author of which was Townshend, and in November by a secret Treaty, signed at Vienna, arranging for an attack on Gibraltar and Minorca and for the partition of France. In the following year Russia joined Austria and Spain, while Prussia declared its neutrality. Europe, divided between the two Leagues, seemed on the verge of a disastrous war.

Various circumstances, however, combined to save Europe from the outbreak of war. The death of the Tsarina Catherine and the accession of Peter II.—a mere child—to the throne of the Tsars in 1727, led to a period of internal troubles in Russia which was not in a position for some years to interfere in European politics. Moreover, the alliance of Spain and Austria was not based on any clear principle, and their interests clashed

War
averted.
The
Treaty of
Seville,
1729.

¹ On Sept. 25, 1725, Louis XV. married Maria Leszczyński.

in Italy. After Spain had vainly attempted to take Gibraltar, its queen, Elizabeth Farnese, realised that her best chance of securing her chief aim—the eventual possession by Don Carlos of Parma—lay in establishing friendly relations with England and France. In the Treaty of Seville, signed on November 9, 1729, all three Powers came to an understanding, and the Emperor found himself practically isolated.

In thus adopting an attitude of opposition to the Emperor, who was deeply offended at hearing that England and France had by the above treaty agreed that Spanish should take the place of neutral troops “in certain important places in the Italian duchies destined for Don Carlos, and over which the Empire still claimed a feudal overlordship,”¹ the English ministers had ignored Hanoverian traditions.

The
Second
Treaty of
Vienna,
1731.

In January 1731 came the crisis with the death of Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and Charles VI. occupied the duchy. The outbreak of hostilities seemed inevitable, and war, indeed, was only prevented by Walpole's recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction, in return for which the Emperor consented not to oppose by force the landing of Spanish troops in Italy. The Second

¹ Ward, ‘Great Britain and Hanover,’ p. 134.

Treaty of Vienna (March 16, 1731) was thus a triumph of British diplomacy. Don Carlos, escorted by a Spanish and English fleet, "entered into quiet possession of Parma" early the following year.

A general European war had been indeed averted, though Walpole in his action had departed from his policy of nonchalance towards the House of Hapsburg. The retirement in May 1730 of Townshend, who would have disapproved of Walpole's policy, had facilitated the negotiations with the Emperor, who, moreover, now withdrew his support of the Ostend Company.

British foreign policy could in 1731 rest satisfied with the results of its work during the anxious years following the First Treaty of Vienna. Gibraltar had been preserved, the possibility of competition from the Ostend Company had been removed. The danger of an offensive alliance between Spain and the Emperor had disappeared. A diplomatic triumph had been won over France, whose Government had stood aloof from the negotiations ending in the Second Treaty of Vienna. Moreover, what was peculiarly satisfactory to Walpole, the peace of Europe had been preserved.

The British guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanc-

tion, however, was destined to have effects which Walpole probably little anticipated, and which ran counter to his real determination to keep free from an Austrian alliance.

The First
Family
Compact.
The
Polish
Succession
War, 1733.

In 1733 France and Spain concluded the first Family Compact, which coincided with the rise of an influential anti-British party in the former country, while in the war of the Polish Succession (1733-1735) both France and Spain gained considerably. France obtained a lien upon Lorraine, and Don Carlos exchanged Parma and Piacenza for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He also received the Tuscan Ports and the isle of Elba. During that war Walpole preserved a strict neutrality in spite of the entreaties of the Emperor. Under no circumstances would Holland embark upon war, and her attitude strengthened Walpole in his resolution. He thus avoided entering upon hostilities with France and Spain, and he maintained the British *entente* with France.

The War of
Jenkins'
Ear, 1739.

In 1739, however, the national feeling, roused by a long continuance of trading disputes with Spain, prevailed over his efforts to come to an agreement with the Spanish Government, and the two countries plunged into the war of Jenkins' Ear.

In 1731 Captain Jenkins of the ship *Rebecca* had lost his famous ear off Havana, and Admiral Charles Stewart, in reporting the fact to the Duke of Newcastle, makes some scathing remarks upon the character of the illicit trade carried on by "a parcel of men who call themselves merchants." As a matter of fact, a state of war prevailed in the West Indies between the Spaniards and the English from 1731,¹ and a letter from Captain Thomas Durell to the Secretary of the Admiralty in 1733 shows that the aggressiveness of the Spanish men-of-war was bound to lead to hostilities between England and Spain.²

The war with Spain brought Great Britain little benefit. As Holland took up a neutral position, and as no other European Power except Denmark regarded the war with favour, Great Britain found herself in a dangerous position, for the struggle with France for colonial empire was on the point of beginning, while the opening of the war with Spain was soon followed by the fall of Walpole, and, according to Von Ranke, it "was not the fall of an ordinary minister, but the fall of the political system based upon the

¹ See Hassall, 'The Balance of Power,' pp. 102, 104.

² See the 'English Historical Review,' Oct. 1889, pp. 741-747.

first union of the House of Hanover with the Regent of France.”¹

The fall of
Walpole,
1742.

With the retirement of Walpole closed an interlude in the Second Hundred Years' War. The first two periods of that war—the struggle between Great Britain and France in Europe, the American continent, and India—had ended with the Treaty of Utrecht. The third period of that war was to open in 1744.

Walpole fell from power in February 1742. Two years later England entered upon the final struggle with France for supremacy in India and North America, a struggle which culminated in the triumph of England at the close of the Seven Years' War.

Power of
France
and Spain,
1740.

The Spanish Succession War had by no means ruined France, while it marked a distinct revival in the fortunes of Spain. “After the Peace of Utrecht,” wrote Mr Lecky, “the ascendancy of France in Europe, which had proved the source of many dangers, was not permanently impaired.”²

In India, in North America, and in the West Indies, the French power seemed infinitely stronger than that of England, and at the opening of the

¹ Ranke, ‘History of England,’ vol. v. p. 405. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875.

² Lecky, ‘History of England,’ vol. i. p. 124. Peel, ‘The Friends of England,’ p. 84.

Austrian Succession War in 1740 the prospects of the two chief Bourbon states appeared to be bright.

"The greatest danger to England," wrote Mr Lecky, "lay in the power of France, and that power for several generations had been rapidly increasing."¹ France had enormously benefited from the long period of peace succeeding the Treaty of Utrecht, and only broken by the short Polish Succession War (1733-35), which, moreover, had given her Lorraine, and had testified to the existence of a Family Compact between France and Spain. That period of tranquillity, according to Bolingbroke, "had done much to re-establish France's affairs, and to enrich her again at the expense of all the nations of Europe."²

The deaths of Charles VI. and the Tsarina in 1740 ushered in the First Silesian War and the war of the Austrian Succession. Frederick the Great, freed from all danger of Russian intervention, and aware of the weak condition of the Austrian territories, at once invaded Silesia, which he permanently occupied after the defeat of the Austrian army at Mollwitz.

The First
Silesian
War,
1740-1742.
The
Austrian
Succession
War,
1741-1748.

Had France remained neutral, it is possible

¹ Lecky, 'History of England,' vol. i. p. 356.

² Bolingbroke, 'Study of History,' Letter viii.

that the war in Europe might have been confined to Austria and Prussia, and till his fall Walpole hoped to effect an accommodation between the two combatants. But the battle of Mollwitz in April 1741 opened a new period in European history, for France, regardless of her modified acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction, determined to attack the Austrian dominions. The League which she joined included Bavaria, Saxony, and Spain, and on June 4 she made an alliance with Prussia. The Austrian dominions were thereupon invaded in August by a Franco-Bavarian force.

George II., who had declared himself in favour of the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, and had journeyed to Hanover in opposition to Walpole's wish, found himself compelled to conclude in September a treaty for the neutrality of Hanover, and to promise not to support Francis Stephen of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, in his candidature for the imperial crown. Though this treaty roused a natural storm of indignation in England, Walpole (till his fall) and his immediate successors apparently were in favour of Great Britain's neutrality during the war. In July 1742 the efforts of the British Government aided in bringing about the Peace of Berlin

between Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great. The First Silesian War was over.

The general situation at its close was favourable in many ways to Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria had indeed been crowned emperor in January 1742, but on February 12, the day of his coronation, Maria Theresa's forces were occupying Munich.

Maria
Theresa's
position,
July 1742.

Peace having been concluded with Frederick, Maria Theresa was free to devote her energies to the war with France. The Secretary of State for the Northern Department was now Carteret, whose policy was a direct return to that of Marlborough and the Whigs in Anne's reign—"resistance to France in alliance with Austria"; and after the retirement of Prussia from war with Austria in July 1742 (a similar course being adopted by Saxony three months later), the war resolved itself into a struggle between the Hapsburg and Bourbon Powers. The events of 1743 clearly illustrated this new aspect of the conflict. Though England had not yet formally declared war upon France, an Anglo-Hanoverian force under the command of George II. united with the Austrians and defeated the French army at Dettingen on June 19, 1743.

The Treaty of Worms, signed on September 13,

The
Treaty of
Worms,
1743.

1743, between Great Britain, Austria, and Sardinia, testified to the triumph of Carteret's influence, and bore witness to the astuteness which always characterised the foreign policy of the House of Savoy. Charles Emmanuel secured in Finale a valuable seaport, and in Milanese territory with Piacenza, valuable additions to his kingdom. As usual, Great Britain was called upon for subsidies, and on condition that the King of Sardinia kept on foot an army of 15,000 men she engaged to pay him a large annual subsidy.

The
Second
Family
Compact,
1743.

In reply to the Treaty of Worms, France and Spain drew closer together in the Treaty of Fontainebleau in October 1743, usually known as the Second Family Compact. On March 15, 1744, France formally declared war on Great Britain, and in April upon Austria. The war had now

Carteret's
policy.

definitely resolved itself into a continuance of the Spanish Succession War as it was left in 1713. And till its close in 1748 both England and France showed themselves insensible to the great imperial issues at stake. The foreign policy which Great Britain pursued was contrary to that which Walpole would have advised and the reverse of that which Pitt in the Seven Years' War carried out. So far, however, from sharing Walpole's distrust of the House of Hapsburg, Carteret

outdid George II. in his support of the Austrian monarchy.

The absence in the Treaty of Worms of any guarantee to Prussia of Silesia led inevitably to the Second Silesian War in 1744-1745, while the definite outbreak of war between Great Britain and France was a few months later followed by the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Carteret's elaborate schemes of foreign policy, which entailed a vast coalition, consisting of England, Holland, Austria, Saxony, and Sardinia, entirely ignored the imperial issues in Canada, India, and the West Indies, and involved a vast expenditure. His fall at the close of 1744 was not followed by any change of policy. The Ministry, however, showed firmness in forcing Maria Theresa to conclude the Treaty of Dresden in December 1745 with Prussia. Austrian troops were thus freed to act energetically against the Bourbons in Italy and elsewhere.

Early in 1748 Great Britain was ready to treat, and in April Lord Sandwich and Severin, the British and French representatives, signed preliminaries of peace. The Dutch envoys at once imitated the example of Great Britain, and after a delay of six months the preliminaries were converted into a definite treaty, signed on October 18

The
Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1748.

by Great Britain, France, and Holland, by Spain on October 20, by Austria on November 8, and by Sardinia on November 20. The news that France, Great Britain, and Holland had agreed to preliminaries of peace had fallen like a thunderbolt upon Spain, Sardinia, and Austria. The Spanish Government had hoped to recover Gibraltar and the abolition of the Asiento; the King of Sardinia found that he must give up Piacenza to Don Philip and restore Finale to Genoa.¹ The Austrian Queen was equally mortified, and for a time thought of continuing the war. But alone, or even in alliance with Spain, opposition to Great Britain and France had no chance of success, and, with bad grace, the Austrian Government yielded to sheer necessity.

The
political
situation
in 1748.

In the war of the Austrian Succession, England's chief opponents had been France and Spain, and at the close of the war in 1748 she had apparently gained no advantage.

The issues in India between England and France remained unsettled, and for some years after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the chances of success in the struggle for a predominant influence seemed to

¹ Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were formed into an hereditary principality for Don Philip, the second son of Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese.—‘Philippe V. et la cour de France,’ vol. vi. pp. 484-486.

be in favour of the French under the guidance of the skilful Dupleix. In North America the future was equally uncertain. The French seemed to be strongly established in Canada, and no one could foresee that the next fifteen years would witness the conquest of Canada by the English.

So far the declaration of Henry Pelham in the House of Commons in February 1749, that Eng-
Pessimism
in Eng-
land.
 land was in nowise able to withstand the whole House of Bourbon, seemed more than justified. But it must be remembered that though ministers might be still pessimistic, the fact remains that during the Austrian Succession War "the British navy had been purged of the ill-effects of peace and neglect, and had brought to the front many of the men, such as Hawke and Anson, who were to carry to a triumphant end the struggle" with the Bourbons.¹

The final contest for supremacy in India and North America opened inauspiciously for England,
The
relative
positions
of Eng-
land and
France.
 and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which closed the Austrian Succession War, gave little indication of the position which England was to occupy in 1763, at the close of the Seven Years' War.

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. vi. p. 250.

Circum-
stances in
Great
Britain's
favour.

Though apparently England showed no signs of being able to overthrow the Bourbons, several circumstances which were ignored at the time were in her favour, and of these the reorganisation of her fleet, as mentioned above, was a most important fact. Moreover, in 1754, the recall of Dupleix by Louis XV., in the hope of preserving peace, ruined the chances of French success in India. This blunder of Louis XV. was all the more serious, for war between France and England had already begun in Canada, and was inevitable in Europe.

The Diplo-
matic Re-
volution,
1756.

On January 16, 1756, the famous Second Treaty of Westminster had united Great Britain and Prussia—a Treaty which has hardly its equal in importance in the whole history of European diplomacy, for it was the first step in the Diplomatic Revolution, the second being the Treaty of Versailles which, on May 1, 1756, brought France and Austria into close alliance.

The Austrian policy of the House of Hanover, a policy which Walpole had strenuously combated, but with which Carteret had identified himself, and which “the Pelham and Newcastle Governments had half-heartedly” supported, had now come to an end. The year 1756 thus saw a revolution in the relations of the chief Euro-

pean Powers, which had startling results. Fortunately for Great Britain, Spain remained neutral till the closing years of the war, and thus Maria Theresa's hopes of setting up a strong Roman Catholic combination of Powers was checked.

It has already been pointed out how gloomy ^{The Seven} were the views entertained by statesmen of ^{Years'} War. England's prospects during the ten years following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The opening of the Seven Years' War only increased the apprehensions of men like Pitt, who presumably had the best means of forming an accurate estimate of the situation. No one seemed to realise the true position of the French power in India, the West Indies, and Canada. Minorca was lost in 1756, and negotiations were even opened for restoring Gibraltar to Spain. The years 1756 and 1757 have been pronounced as among the most humiliating of England's history. A startling change in England's fortunes was, however, about to take place. From 1713 "policy had been governed by an unedifying commercialism"; now Pitt came "to give wings to the national ambition."¹

¹ Hertz, 'English Public Opinion after the Restoration,' p. 148. London: Fisher Unwin, 1902.

England
trium-
phant in
India and
Canada.

After 1757 success attended the British arms in Canada, in India, and in the West Indies. The names of Clive and Eyre Coote, of Hawke and Pocock, of Ferdinand of Brunswick and Granby, and of Amherst and Wolfe, are but representative of a great number of brave and capable men who aided in laying the foundations of the Empire during the Seven Years' War.

Spain joined France in 1762, with the result that she lost Florida, and was forced to recognise the English claim to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, and to abandon her claims to the Newfoundland fisheries. France, however, suffered more seriously. She was forced to recognise the superiority of Great Britain in India, and to forego all hope of rivalling her in the East. She had, moreover, to accept the establishment of the British power in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, to yield several islands in the West Indies, to restore Minorca, and to dismantle Dunkirk.

The Peace
of Paris,
1763.

The Peace of Paris established Great Britain as the leading state in the world. That peace was "the culminating point of English power in the eighteenth century; nay, relatively to other states, England has never since been so great."

The foundation of the British Empire was laid, its future expansion in India and Canada was assured. It was not, however, till the fall of Napoleon that the British Empire was free to expand without danger of any serious interruption from external foes.

PERIOD VI.

1688-1815.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

PART III.

1763-1792.

THE PARTIAL DISRUPTION AND RECOVERY OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTENTS.

Bute's policy—The early years of George III.'s reign—Isolation of Great Britain—Chatham's foreign policy—Danger from the Bourbon Powers—Anglo-Russian friendship—Justification of Chatham's views—War with the American Colonies—France joins the Colonists, 1778—Isolation of Great Britain, 1780—The Treaty of Versailles—Great Britain's position—Pitt in office, 1783—India, Australia, and New Zealand—Great Britain's position in 1788—The Triple Alliance—Its successes—Nootka Sound—Pitt's failure with regard to Oczákoff.

THE PARTIAL DISRUPTION AND RECOVERY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Seven Years' War had ended in the brilliant triumph of Great Britain's foreign policy. Unfortunately, during the negotiations leading to the conclusion of peace, Bute and not Pitt was at the head of affairs. The ignorance, recklessness, and stupidity which characterised Bute's diplomacy cannot be overestimated. His desertion of our ally, Frederick the Great, had most serious consequences. In defence of Bute it can be stated that the outbreak of hostilities with Spain so increased the expenses of the war that it was difficult to continue to pay the subsidy to Frederick. It might also have been argued that the death of the Tsarina Elizabeth, on January 6, 1762, which was followed by friendship between Russia and Prussia, and, moreover, that the withdrawal of the French forces from Germany more than compensated for the cessation of the payment of Frederick's subsidy; while in addition

Bute's
policy.
Aliena-
tion of
Frederick
the Great.

it might have been hinted that Frederick's fidelity to England was purely a matter of self-interest, and that he was our ally merely because our alliance was convenient to him.

It is, however, impossible to defend or palliate Bute's conduct. The subsidy of £2,000,000, which had been paid for several years, was withdrawn without adequate notice. Further, Bute in January 1672 opened secret negotiations for peace with the Austrian Court, and these negotiations were discovered by Frederick. Bute, moreover, never appreciated the popularity of the Prussian king with the English people.

The Peace
of Paris,
1763.

Though Spain towards the close of the war had joined France in the Third Family Compact, the latter had to bear the brunt of the final struggle. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 established Great Britain as the leading state in the world. It "was the culminating point of English power in the eighteenth century; nay, relatively to other states, England has never since been so great."

The early
years of
George
III.'s
reign.

During the early years of George III.'s reign England was at peace in Europe. The Seven Years' War ended in 1763, and the safety of Hanover was no longer, as it had been in the reigns of George I. and II., an object of anxiety.

There was no sovereign or court resident in the Electorate, and its affairs, though not overlooked by British politicians, at any rate roused little interest in England. Hanover ceased to play a prominent part in the politics of Great Britain, and, till the French Revolutionary Wars, enjoyed a humdrum existence.

If, however, the alliance between France and Austria saved Germany from all fear of a French invasion, and removed from the English Cabinet all anxiety with regard to Hanover, British interests abroad demanded increased vigilance. England's commerce rendered her sensitive to all that happened in the Baltic and in the Levant, though till the close of her war with the American colonists, Great Britain viewed with comparative indifference the constant encroachment of Russia upon Turkey, and the steady increase of the influence of Catherine II. over Poland.

Great Britain had in 1763 emerged from the Seven Years' War victorious over France and Spain. She had conquered Canada, she had established her supremacy in India. Her fleets held the sea. It must, however, be remembered that one result of Bute's management of the negotiations for peace was that Great Britain

Great Britain isolated and hated after 1763.

found herself at the close of the war isolated and hated by France, Spain, Austria, and Prussia. The Austro-French alliance of 1756 still existed, and the Family Compact of 1761 between France and Spain showed greater vitality. Great Britain for many years remained without allies and exposed to attack.

Chatham's
foreign
policy,
1766-1767.

After the conclusion of the peace domestic questions occupied the chief attention of the Government. The navy was neglected, the military organisation was not improved. The early years of George III.'s reign, from 1763 to 1770, are chiefly noteworthy on account of the constant political struggles at home, and of the growing alienation of the American colonies. During these years foreign politics did not receive due attention.

Northern
League

The real significance of the hostility of Prussia was, however, fully realised by Chatham, and consequently, when he returned to power in 1766, he endeavoured to form a Northern League in which England, Russia, and Prussia should be the chief members. The Northern Powers, Russia and Prussia, were at that time fully occupied. The alliance of 1764 between Frederick the Great and Catherine II. presaged the fall of Poland, while the growing hostility of Turkey and Russia eventuated in 1768 in the outbreak of a war

which marked the beginning of the Eastern question. The events in the East of Europe were "neither overlooked nor unlamented by the British Cabinet." But beyond expressing himself in favour of the Dissidents (members of the Protestant and Greek Churches), George III. had no reason to interfere directly in the crisis in Poland and Turkey, both of which countries were more or less connected with France. Had Chatham succeeded in his aim of setting up a counter-system to that of the House of Bourbon, the history of Great Britain during the ensuing twenty years would not have been the history of humiliations and losses. For alone of British statesmen he was keenly alive to the danger to England from the Bourbon League,

Chatham, who fully realised the isolation of Great Britain, had always feared that France and Spain would attack England on the first opportunity. From 1763 to 1766 British statesmen neglected foreign politics, though the vigilance of Choiseul and Grimaldi never slept. The Bourbons remained closely united, and Choiseul was fully informed of the state of English politics and of the condition of affairs in America. In conjunction with Spain, Choiseul intrigued all over Europe against England. United with Austria

Danger
from the
Bourbon
Powers.

and Spain, Choiseul had every reason to anticipate a successful Bourbon attack on the power of Great Britain.

Anglo-
Russian
friendship.

Though the inclusion of England in a Northern League did not take place, British influence in foreign affairs showed itself on various occasions between 1766 and the outbreak of the War of American Independence.

The relations between England and Russia had been friendly during the reign of George II., and remained so during the early years of that of George III. English officers helped to navigate the Russian fleet from the Baltic to the Ægean Sea, though after the battle of Tchesmé they were recalled. The reason for this co-operation with Russia seems to have been due to the conviction that Turkey was closely connected with France.

Similarly, during the Revolution of 1771 in Sweden, which was also the ancient ally of France, the British Government indirectly hampered the efforts of Gustavus III. by preventing the entry of a French fleet into the Baltic. At the same time it must be noted that, owing to the gradual growth of distrust with regard to Russia's aggressive policy, that Power was warned by Great Britain not to attack Sweden in 1772.

Nevertheless England could not afford to break with Russia. English commercial interests in the Mediterranean, the Baltic, India, and the colonies were not interfered with by Russia, whose Tsarina was not on friendly terms with the Bourbons. The wisdom of attempting to bring England into a Northern League is therefore manifest, and does credit to Chatham's foresight, and to his realisation that while the Bourbon Powers were gathering strength England continued isolated. In 1769 France annexed Corsica, and in 1769-70 Spain occupied the Falkland Islands. In relying on French support in accordance with the Family Compact, Grimaldi relied in vain. He had not reckoned upon Louis XV.'s determination to preserve peace. The English Government prepared for war, but the dismissal of Choiseul ended the crisis.

Chatham's
policy
justified.

This evidence of the continued hostility of the Western Powers, and the refusal of Frederick the Great and Catherine to accord England any definite support, should have impressed upon Lord North and his colleagues the risks to which their country was exposed. A powerful navy and army were obviously required, as in 1863 at the outbreak of the Danish War, and on the occasion of the Penjdeh incident. The inefficient condition of the army and navy, when the war

with the American colonies broke out, found England without allies and exposed to the attacks of France and Spain.

The war
with the
American
Colonists,
1775-1783.

During the early period of the war with the colonists, it seemed that the mother-country would gain the victory, and till 1778 it appeared likely that the supremacy of Great Britain over the whole of North America would be established. Naturally England was now viewed with greater jealousy and fear by Europe than ever before. In the sixteenth century Spain had been the Power most dreaded; in the seventeenth century France took the place hitherto occupied by Spain; in the eighteenth century it was England that roused the jealousy and alarm of Europe. The intervention of France, Spain, and Holland, together with the formation of the Armed Neutrality of 1780, was the natural outcome and the natural expression of the general jealousy and dread of England, and it is the continuation of that jealousy which explains the formation of the Armed Neutrality of 1800-1, when one would have expected that alarm at the progress of the French Revolution would have led all the nations of Europe to coalesce against not England but France.

The year
1778.
War with
France.

The year 1778 is thus a noteworthy one in the history of British foreign policy. For in that

year Great Britain found herself again at war with France, and shortly afterwards with Spain and Holland.

The Peace of Paris in 1763 had borne witness to the signal triumph of England in the chief phase of the great struggle with the Bourbons. The year 1778 marks the beginning of a series of efforts on the part of the Bourbon Powers to avenge themselves for their losses, and to drag England from the position which she had won in 1763.

The years from 1778 to 1783 constitute a fresh epoch in the Second Hundred Years' War.

In 1783, when the Treaty of Versailles closed The War, 1778-1783. the war and American Independence was won, it seemed that the Bourbon Powers had succeeded in their object, and that the star of England's empire had set. They had some justification for their belief. The great international conflict which began in 1778 strained England's resources, and rendered her unable to suppress what before 1778 had seemed but a mere colonial rebellion. "As those black years rolled on," writes Sir George Trevelyan, ". . . a conviction gradually crept over the public mind that England would never emerge safe and erect from the conflict with her European foes, unless she consented

to treat with Congress upon terms which Congress could accept.”¹

Great
Britain's
position in
1783.

The failure of England to conquer the colonists was due to the support given them by France, to the war with Spain, to the loss by the British navy of the command of the sea, to the want of more troops in America, to the incapacity of the English generals, and to the attempt to direct operations from London. England found herself in 1780 the object of the active hostility of a great part of Europe, just at the time when the British nation was showing an undoubted disinclination to continue the struggle in America.

But with regard to France and Spain the temper of the nation was very different. The victory of Rodney in the battle of the Saintes on April 12, 1782, and the successful defence of Gibraltar, the siege of which was raised by the Spaniards on February 6, 1783, testified to the superiority of the British navy in the later stages of the war and to the readiness of Englishmen to look upon the Bourbons as natural foes.

The
Treaty of
Versailles.

The Treaty of Versailles on September 3, 1783, closed a gloomy period in the history of English foreign policy. While France and Spain gained

¹ Trevelyan, 'George III. and Charles Fox,' vol. i. p. 7. London : Longmans, 1912.

advantages, America won her independence. It was generally believed in Europe that Great Britain's prosperity had come to an end.

The terms of the peace could not in themselves be considered under the circumstances particularly onerous, and Great Britain made no concessions which were of vital importance to her. Spain recovered Minorca and received East Florida; and France gained Tobago and full possession of the islands of St Pierre and Miquelon. She also obtained Senegal and Goree in West Africa. Moreover, England no longer insisted upon the destruction of the Dunkirk fortifications, and agreed to a fresh definition of her rights in the Newfoundland fisheries, and to "the restoration of her commercial stations in India."

In India, indeed, Warren Hastings had saved the British power. "He carried," it is said, "the Government of India safely through one of the sharpest crises in our national history." A war with the Mahrattas, which ended in 1782, was accompanied by a war with Hyder Ali, and, on his death in December 1782, with his son Tippoo, who was aided by a French fleet under the skilful Bailli de Suffren. In March 1784, however, the English proved successful, and the Treaty of Mangalore ended the war with Tippoo.

William
Pitt's
Ministry,
1784.

The establishment of the Younger Pitt at the head of the Ministry in April 1784 marks an epoch in the history of England. Till February 1793 England was at peace. Apparently the country was in a weak condition, and in the opinion of many Continental observers was a declining Power. Her empire had suffered disintegration, her influence in Europe was small, she had no allies, and she had lost one-half of a continent.

Annexa-
tion of
Australia
and New
Zealand.

The annexation of Australia on August 21, 1770, and of New Zealand by Captain Cook, however, opened up vast possibilities for future colonial expansion, while the strengthening of our bonds with India resulted in the establishment and expansion of an Indian Empire. The addition of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands gave Great Britain the mastery over the Pacific.

Great
Britain
in 1788.

Thus the peaceful period in English history after 1783 was marked at home not only by a policy of peace and retrenchment, but also by the beginning of an interest in our new possessions of Australia and New Zealand. Moreover, within four years England was holding a leading position in Europe, and as one of the chief members of the Triple Alliance of 1788 was making her influence felt, to the infinite benefit of the civilised world. The rapid recovery of Great Britain was in

great measure due to the industrial revolution then proceeding, and which within a few years transformed England from an agricultural to a manufacturing country. Reforms in the government of India, too, strengthened our position in that country, while at the same time, by his skilful financial measures, Pitt was adding enormously to the resources of the country. The recovery of England from her position in 1783 was most striking, and in 1788 it was realised in Europe that England was no longer to be treated with contempt.

On his accession to office in 1784, Pitt found that England was menaced by the schemes of Joseph II. and by the Franco-Dutch Alliance.

The
Franco-
Dutch
Alliance,
1785.

It had always been a principle of English foreign policy to preserve the independence of Flanders and Holland. The danger to that independence from France had been one of the chief causes of the Hundred Years' War; the determination to defend it had led Elizabeth to send Leicester and a force of men to the Netherlands shortly before the Armada crisis; Louis XIV.'s evident intention to destroy it was a chief cause of the Spanish Succession War.

The seizure of the frontier fortresses in 1701 had shown William III. that war with France

was inevitable. The barrier which had been again set up in 1715 was practically non-existent, and the Franco-Dutch Alliance seemed to constitute a dangerous menace to England, for that alliance had become so close that William V. the Stadtholder, who headed the party favourable to a British connection, had been forced to abandon The Hague. It was an anxious time for Pitt, for Holland "had virtually become a party of the Bourbon Family Compact."¹

Vergennes, however, had no wish to show animosity to Great Britain. The condition of Eastern politics occupied his chief attention, and already he had attempted to come to some understanding on the subject with Great Britain. In consequence, Pitt and he were able to agree upon the important Commercial Treaty of 1786. There still, however, remained the possibility that the republican party in Holland would abolish the hereditary Stadtholdership, which would have been "a humiliating blow to Great Britain." In the autumn of 1786 and the first six months of 1787 the crisis in the Netherlands continued. Fortunately for the cause of the Stadtholder, Frederick the Great was dead, and in February.

The
Triple
Alliance
of 1788.

¹ Lecky, 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. v. p. 78.

1787 Vergennes died. In June 1787 the arrest of William V.'s wife by some republican troops was followed by the intervention of Prussia. Pitt undertook to support Prussia, and the French Minister, Montmorin, decided to abstain from action. In consequence William V. regained his authority, and in 1788 Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland formed the Triple Alliance, which for some four years exercised an important influence upon the cause of peace in Europe. By its means Denmark was forced to forego an attack on Sweden, which was then involved in a war with Russia. Its influence was employed in securing peace in other directions, and the outbreak of the French Revolution had no immediate effect upon its policy. The affair of Nootka Sound, the crisis in Eastern Europe, the death of Joseph II. in February 1790, and the accession of Leopold, were all events in which Great Britain was interested, and which affected her more immediately than what seemed to be a mere constitutional crisis in France.

In 1789 three English trading vessels were seized by some Spanish men-of-war in Nootka Sound, which was situated on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Spaniards claimed the island, and expected that France would support

The affair
of Nootka
Sound,
1790.

them, although the Spanish claim was absolutely indefensible. There was some reason for this expectation, and during the first nine months of 1790 it seemed possible that influential men, such as Mirabeau, might recommend war with England as a means of checking the revolutionary movements at home. In October, however, Mirabeau threw all his influence on the side of non-intervention. Spain found herself without allies, and early in November yielded on all points.

The
affair of
Oczákoff.

While the possibility of the outbreak of war with France and Spain had to be faced by Pitt, the bellicose temper of the Prussian king, who seemed bent upon a war with Austria, was causing the English Cabinet much anxiety. But the accession of the statesmanlike Leopold II. to the imperial throne in February 1790, followed by the conclusion of the Treaty of Reichenbach in July between Prussia and Austria, averted all fear of war between those two countries. Eastern Europe was, however, still the scene of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, and Pitt, perhaps encouraged by his success with Denmark, endeavoured to force the Tsarina Catherine II. to relinquish her hold upon Oczákoff. The possession of Oczákoff and the adjoining territory would give the Tsarina the control of the Black Sea

trade, and Pitt was fully justified in resisting the aspirations of Russia, which could only be carried out at the expense of Turkey, and in commissioning a number of ships—known as the Russian armament—to enforce his policy. But the House of Commons had never heard of Oczákoff, and could not realise the importance which Pitt attached to its possession by Turkey; Fox took a leading part in opposing the Oczákoff expedition; he was supported by the House of Commons, and Pitt was forced to recognise the necessity of abandoning his plans. His foreign policy had received a severe check, Catherine II. had triumphed, the Opposition was encouraged. His defeat is thought by one writer to have lessened “his confidence in himself and his power.”

Nevertheless Pitt could congratulate himself on the success which had, on the whole, attended his foreign policy since he became Prime Minister. The Commercial Treaty with France, the Triple Alliance of 1788, the abandonment by Denmark of hostilities against Sweden, the restoration of Austrian authority in Belgium, the alliance at Reichenbach between Leopold and Frederick William, the defeat of Spain over the Nootka Sound question,—all these events attest the skill

Pitt's
successes.

and success which marked Pitt's foreign policy between 1784 and 1792.

He had indeed failed in the Oczákoff affair through the ignorance of the House of Commons and the narrow, unpatriotic, and treacherous conduct of Fox's agents, if not of Fox himself; the Russo-Turkish war still continued, and Russian projects against Poland only awaited an opportunity for their execution. But to Pitt's efforts it was chiefly due that hostilities were confined to the east and north of Europe. His failure to force the Tsarina to restore Oczákoff was entirely due to the "shortsightedness and ignorance of Parliament."¹

¹ With regard to Pitt's defeat over the Oczákoff affair, a recent writer in 'The Edinburgh Review' (January 1912) makes a statement most damaging to Fox and his friends and agents, who, he says, kept Catherine well informed of the trend of public opinion in England, and thus encouraged her ambition and greed.

PERIOD VI.

1688-1815.

THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

PART IV.

1792-1815.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
AND WITH NAPOLEON.

CONTENTS.

France at war with Austria and Prussia, 1792—Great Britain at war with France, 1793—Pitt as a Foreign and War Minister—Bentham's views—Criticism of Pitt's policy—The Treaty of Amiens—The question of Holland—Causes of the outbreak of war, 1803—Pitt's later policy—1806 a disastrous year—Beginning of the final struggle with Napoleon—The Spanish rising—The Moscow expedition—Castlereagh's successful policy—The overthrow of Napoleon—British policy in Italy—The Congress of Vienna—The "Hundred Days"—Waterloo—Triumph of British policy.

ARGUMENT.

THE danger to Europe from the enormous power and influence of France was apparent to statesmen in England and on the Continent. France had established colonists in Canada; she had interests in India and the West Indies. She was, moreover, constantly aggressive, and her aggressions roused the fears of Europe. Till the Treaty of Utrecht the struggle with France on the part of Great Britain was directed to checking Louis XIV.'s schemes on the Continent, and in safeguarding the Protestant succession in England. After the Peace of Utrecht, the struggle of Great Britain against the Bourbon Powers for ascendancy at sea, in the New World, and India began about the year 1740 and ended in the triumph of the English in 1763.

The recovery of Great Britain after the War of American Independence was remarkable, and a surprise to Europe. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, Great Britain and France are again at war. In Napoleon, Great Britain found an antagonist even more dangerous than Louis XIV. It was not till 1815 that the Second Hundred Years' War closed with the triumph of Great Britain.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND WITH NAPOLEON.

MEANWHILE the French Revolution was speeding on its course, and was destined to have a most important influence upon Great Britain's position in Europe and upon her foreign policy. Till the autumn of 1792 Pitt never seems to have realised that a great struggle with France was impending. In April 1792 France declared war upon Austria, and shortly afterwards, on July 24, Prussia entered the lists. Pitt, however, continued to adopt a neutral attitude towards revolutionary France. In February 1792, in proposing a reduction of the expenditure on the army and navy, he had declared that "never was a time in the history of this country, when from the situation of Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace, than at the present moment."

France at
war with
Austria
and
Prussia,
1792.

Before the end of the year, however, a momentous change took place in the European

situation. The French king was deposed on August 10, the September massacres followed, the Prussians were defeated at Valmy on September 20, and the Austrians at Jemappes on November 6. A French army had already swept to the Rhine, taking Spire, Worms, and Mainz, and now Belgium was conquered, the Scheldt declared open, and an invasion of Holland threatened. Moreover, on November 19 and December 15, the triumphant French Government issued decrees calling on all nations to rise against their rulers, and compelling all territories overrun by the French armies to accept French institutions.

England
forced
into war.

It was probably not till the close of 1792 that Pitt and his colleagues began to realise that their policy of neutrality was becoming impossible. Ever since the days of John and Edward III. it had been an axiom in English politics that the independence of the Low Countries must be preserved, and as late as 1788, by the Triple Alliance (England, Holland, and Prussia), the British Government had agreed to uphold the Dutch control over the estuary of the Scheldt. To the law of nations the French offered the law of nature; they had on November 27 annexed Savoy; they now were

resolved to annex the Austrian Netherlands, and to seize Holland. Chauvelin's insolent note of December 27 to Grenville was in itself sufficient to bring about a rupture, and in December the militia was called out and a powerful fleet prepared.

Though hostilities were now within sight, not even the execution of Louis XVI. brought about a declaration of war from Pitt. "Probably not even that event would have stirred him from his neutrality," but ten days later came the formal annexation of the Low Countries by decree of the National Convention. This showed him that war was inevitable. The actual declaration of war came from France on February 1, 1793, and was directed against Holland as well as Great Britain. Henceforward, with the exception of the short tenure of office by the Addington Ministry, Pitt figures as a War Minister, and with the outbreak of the French war Great Britain enters upon the later phases of the Second Hundred Years' War, which had opened in 1688.

A criticism which is brought by capable critics against Pitt is that his foreign policy was in great measure rendered ineffective by the manner in which the army was squandered in rash and

England
at war
with
France,
1793.

Pitt as a
Foreign
and War
Minister.

futile expeditions, the object indeed of which was to ruin France by the capture of her colonies and the destruction of her commerce. The West Indian enterprises of Dundas and Pitt were said to have cost Great Britain in the army and navy some 100,000 men dead or wounded, while there was nothing gained by this outlay of men.¹

Bentham's
views.

In 1789 Jeremy Bentham published a proposal to do away with war by the establishment of an international tribunal, any refractory state to be kept under the ban of Europe. Though in 1792 Europe was plunged into a war which was only ended in 1814, Kant produced in 1795 a scheme for perpetual peace, according to which every state was to become republican. Bentham's plan was more practicable, and in 1814 his aims found some satisfaction in the adoption of an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America in reference to certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay.²

Criticism
of Pitt's
policy.

Until the rise of Napoleon, Pitt had no means of estimating the real import of the war upon which Great Britain in February 1793 was embarked. At first he seems to have decided that

¹ See Fortescue, 'The British Army, 1783-1802.' London: Macmillan.

² 'Contemporary Review,' September 1909, p. 311.

the chief objects of the war were the independence of Belgium and Holland and the closing of the Scheldt. It will be admitted that Pitt was not a great War Minister, and that he failed to realise that a determined effort at Toulon or, better, in La Vendée, would have been more effectual for the recovery of Holland than the despatch of small reinforcements to Belgium. At the same time, it should be remembered that the chief blame of the Quiberon failure must rest upon George III., who refused to allow troops to be sent from Hanover. And it must always be realised, when criticising Pitt's policy, that neither Prussia nor Austria were trustworthy allies.

After the Treaties of Basle in 1795, Great Britain, Austria, Sardinia, and Spain remained the chief opponents of France. Holland was now occupied by the French, whose Government, the Directory, refused to open serious negotiations for peace with Pitt. In 1796, owing to the defection of Spain, the English fleet evacuated Corsica and withdrew from the Mediterranean, thus leaving the Sardinians and Austrians to be overthrown in turn by Bonaparte. The evacuation of Corsica has been stigmatised as "an eternal disgrace to the British Government."

One result of the Peace of Campo Formio was that Great Britain was left alone to struggle against France. As an invasion of England was not practicable, Bonaparte decided to carry out his "Oriental" plan, conquer Egypt and destroy the British power in India. The predominance of the British fleet, so forcibly demonstrated in the battle of the Nile, extinguished for a time Bonaparte's hope of making the Mediterranean into a French lake.

The Peace
of Amiens,
1802.

None the less that hope was never relinquished, and in 1801 (March 28) the Treaty of Florence with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was, Bonaparte believed, a step towards the attainment of French predominance in the Mediterranean. But the supremacy of the British navy in the Baltic and Mediterranean forced him to postpone the execution of his aims. Though the war of the Second Coalition had ended disastrously for the Allies, though Austria had been forced to sign the Treaty of Lunéville, and though the armed neutrality of 1800-1 had been set up, a series of events compelled Bonaparte to agree to the Peace of Amiens in 1802. The battle of Copenhagen, the accession of the Tsar Alexander, the battle of Alexandria,—all these disasters to the French hopes made it evident that a period

of peace was necessary before any fresh attempt to ruin Great Britain could be made.

In spite of the many criticisms that can be levelled at Pitt's management of the war, the fact remained that, owing mainly to the supremacy of the British at sea, Bonaparte's attempt to establish French supremacy over Europe, to control the Mediterranean, and to destroy the British power in India had failed.¹ Unfortunately the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 was concluded while Addington was Prime Minister, and the independence of Holland, a matter of vital importance to Great Britain, was not definitely insisted upon. It was, however, understood that in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville the evacuation of Holland should take place immediately after the conclusion of peace. The failure of Bonaparte to evacuate Holland was one of the chief causes of the renewal of war in 1803.

A period of peace for five or ten years, during which a strong fleet could be built and the naval and military forces reorganised and strengthened, would have proved invaluable for the execution

Bonaparte's failures.

The war of 1803 : its causes ; Napoleon's successes.

¹ In India the Wellesleys had in May 1799 overthrown Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, and subdued all Southern India. In 1803 the victories of Assaye, Argaum, and Laswaree, followed in 1805 by the total defeat of Holkar, establishes the British power in India on a stable basis.

of Napoleon's grandiose schemes. His internal reorganisation of France during the Consulate is proof of his extraordinary mental powers and abnormal energy. But, like many continental statesmen of past days, and, indeed, of the present time, he entirely misunderstood the English character. He seems to have been under the impression that the British nation could easily be driven from India, Australia, and Malta, and that consequently their foreign possessions, together with Egypt, could be brought under the rule of France. The declaration of war by England in 1803, like the Third Coalition of 1805, was caused and fully justified by Napoleon's aggressions. Prussia, however, would not join the Allies unless she was assured of Hanover. Alexander of Russia tried to bring about its cession by Great Britain, but Pitt absolutely refused to entertain the idea. After the Austerlitz campaign Prussia, by the treaty of February 15, 1806, did indeed receive Hanover, but she was at once (April) involved in war with Great Britain, and six months later was being overrun by French troops.

Pitt's death at the beginning of the year 1806 coincided with the failure of his policy of resisting France by means of coalitions. For at the time of his death the whole interest of the

war had shifted from the sea to the land. Napoleon had overthrown the Third Coalition, and his power on the continent seemed irresistible.

The foreign and war policy of Pitt cannot be termed successful. It is quite obvious to us Criticism of Pitt's policy. now (though Pitt never realised the fact) that the monarchies of Prussia, Austria, and probably Russia, were decadent not only during the later years of the eighteenth but during the early years of the nineteenth century. We did indeed obtain command of the sea, and in 1814 and 1815, after Europe had passed through a fiery but necessary ordeal, Pitt's programme was to a great extent carried out. But though it might be unavoidable for Great Britain to engage in the war of the First Coalition, ought not the lessons of that war have saved us from our blunders in the Second Coalition, or from joining in the Third Coalition? The triumph of either over France would have been a disaster, and would have seriously endangered the carrying out of a European Revolution, which was only beginning about 1806 and was not concluded till 1814.

The stability and independence of the European monarchies were not worth fighting for in the later years of the eighteenth century. Their

alliance was worthless, and their governments were detestable. Germany required a revolution as thorough as that through which France had passed, while to Italy Napoleon's rule raised hopes of a new life.

Criticism is often brought to bear on many of the attempts of Great Britain to check the course of French victory, and the failure of these attempts must in some cases be ascribed to Pitt. He never seems to have realised how essentially rotten were the governments for which England was fighting, nor did he appreciate the absolute necessity of a German revolution. The great naval victories, such as that of the First of June, of Camperdown, St Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, made it evident that Pitt would have done wisely to confine his efforts to opposing France at sea and in the colonies.

The
disastrous
year 1806.

At the opening of 1806 it was evident that Pitt's foreign policy had failed as far as the continent was concerned, and indeed, in spite of our supremacy at sea, events might still enable Napoleon to resume his Eastern projects with some hope of success. Austria had been crushed at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805; the Third Coalition, Pitt's last achievement, was dissolved;

and in spite of the continuance of the resistance of Russia, the continent seemed to be in Napoleon's grasp. The victory at Trafalgar "made very little difference to Napoleon's plans and to the course of the war in Europe," for after Nelson he "could treat any disaster at sea as of secondary importance." Nevertheless, the ultimate results of the victory of Trafalgar "in the sphere of European politics were of incalculable importance."

The accession to power of "the Ministry of all the Talents" encouraged Napoleon in his hopes of obtaining Great Britain's consent to a peace on his own terms, and the first six months of 1806 were occupied in negotiations. These negotiations proved abortive, and the year closed gloomily for Great Britain, and indeed for Europe. For though it witnessed the capture of the Cape of Good Hope by Great Britain and the victory of Maida, it is chiefly remarkable in British history for the death of Fox, and for the campaign of Jena. There is, indeed, much truth in the statement that, as far as land operations went, from 1793 to 1808, England's part in the great war against France "is a story of wasted opportunities."

The overthrow of Prussia at Jena on October 14, 1806, was followed by the issue of the Berlin

The final struggle with

Napoleon,
1806-1815.

Decree which inaugurated Napoleon's continental system. The method of a direct invasion of England had, indeed, no hope of success; his Egyptian expedition, the object of which was the ruin of our colonies and commerce in the East, had failed. There remained, however, a third method of attack — namely, by insisting upon the exclusion of our goods from the greater part of continental Europe, and so to force the English Government to come to terms. By cutting off all relations between Great Britain and the continent, the complete financial exhaustion of his enemy would be accomplished. This policy seemed likely to meet with success when in 1807 the Treaty of Tilsit brought about an alliance between France and Russia, and Great Britain found herself almost completely isolated. Austria, Prussia, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and the Papal States were all included among the supporters of the continental system. The seizure of the Danish fleet in September, followed by the capture of Heligoland, did indeed check Napoleon's plan of establishing the French supremacy in the Baltic, but the failure of General Whitelock in South America had serious consequences. In 1807 the entry of Junot into Lisbon seemed to imply that Portugal was to

be drawn into Napoleon's net. And the consequent subjection of Spain and Portugal implied the eventual domination of the French Empire in the Mediterranean. That assured, Napoleon would be able to carry out the aim of his life, the substitution of the French for the British power in the East.

At the beginning of 1808 Sicily was the only country in Europe from which British commerce was not banned, and Napoleon had justification for thinking that his hopes would be realised, and that France would become supreme in the Mediterranean.

The year 1808, however, saw the beginning of a new period in the history of British foreign policy, due to the rising in Spain, itself the result of Napoleon's natural but gigantic mistake of ignoring Spanish national feeling, and placing Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain. Louis XIV. had indeed successfully established his grandson Philip on the throne of Spain. But he had done so at the request of the Spaniards. Moreover, in 1808 the immense influence of the priests was used against Napoleon, who was regarded as an atheist. The French surrender at Baylen in July 1808 marked the beginning of Napoleon's eventual failure, and the wisdom of the English

Great Britain and the Spanish Rising, 1808.

Government in sending an expedition to Portugal was justified by the victories of Wellesley at Roliça and Vimeiro in August, followed by the Convention of Cintra. Before many weeks were over not a French soldier remained south of the Ebro.

Though Napoleon's famous journey to Spain at the close of 1808, and the retirement of the English army from Portugal after the battle of Corunna in January 1809, indicated that, given Napoleon's continued presence in Spain, the opposition to his plans would probably have been suppressed, events in Europe compelled his return to Paris and necessitated a campaign against Austria in 1809, and the Moscow expedition in 1812. His inability to return to Spain was Great Britain's opportunity, and the policy of opposing France in the Peninsula was persevered in.

War
between
Austria
and
France,
1809.

In the campaign of 1809 Austria had expected support from the north-west German States and possibly from Prussia, as well as from Bavaria and the districts which till lately had been under Hapsburg rule. She had, too, sent troops into Poland, in order, by occupying Dantzic, to facilitate co-operation with England.

A descent by an English force in the north of Germany would have been of incalculable

assistance to Austria, and it has been said that "if England had been sufficiently well organised and prepared to profit by her chances on the continent in 1809, Napoleon's defeat might have been anticipated by several years." Though it had been decided by the English Ministry to aid Austria, the famous Walcheren Expedition only started in July. On the 5th and 6th of that month Austria was defeated at Wagram and forced to make peace in October. Meanwhile, instead of attacking Antwerp, the British troops were occupied chiefly on the isle of Walcheren. A large number died, and the expedition, owing to bad management, proved a total failure.

The Walcheren Expedition.

Napoleon's Spanish blunder has rightly been styled "fundamental," for it relieved Great Britain for a time from the very dangerous consequences of the continental system. He had staked the success of his empire on his ability to cut off our exports, and had failed.

Importance to Great Britain of the Spanish "blunder."

The years 1810 and 1811, however, were critical years for Great Britain. Fortunately, on December 31, 1810, Alexander relaxed, as far as Russia was concerned, the continental system. Napoleon realised at once the fatal import of this relaxation to his schemes. "That is the leak," he declared, "which is sinking the ship," and from that moment

The Moscow Expedition, 1812, and its results.

he resolved to force Russia to adhere strictly to the continental system. The failure of the Moscow expedition gave new life to Europe, which had now passed through a revolution as drastic as that experienced by France. In this new condition of affairs Castlereagh was fully justified in imitating Pitt's policy of continental alliances.

Success of
Castlereagh's
policy.

But while the wisdom of Pitt's alliances with unreformed, unreliable, and almost decadent nations is questionable, Castlereagh acted correctly in aiding, encouraging, and financing the European opposition to Napoleon. Pitt had at any rate presided over the destruction of Napoleon's sea power; it was left to Castlereagh to be largely instrumental in bringing about the overthrow of the Emperor's hitherto unconquerable armies. During the momentous years of 1813 and 1814 Castlereagh played a part the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. He contributed to the momentous decision of Austria to unite her forces to those of Russia and Prussia in August 1813. His presence with the Allied Sovereigns in France in the early months of 1814 was of immense importance, for his influence restored unanimity, the result of which was the final advance to Paris and the over-

throw of Napoleon. The remarkable reception which Castlereagh received in the House of Commons on his return from the Congress of Vienna the following year is a proof of the appreciation felt in England for his successful foreign policy during the years from 1808 to 1815.

The overthrow of Napoleon in April 1814, and his detention in Elba, by no means ended the difficulties of the Great European States. The reconstitution of Europe had to be taken in hand, and a Congress met at Vienna in the autumn of 1814. At that Congress one of the most interesting questions to be decided was the future of Italy, with regard to which country the policy pursued by Lord William Bentinck, the British Plenipotentiary at Palermo, had, up to January 1814, met with the approval of Castlereagh. Bentinck strongly favoured Italian independence, and, indeed, the idea of Italian unity, which would, he hoped, be favoured by England. It has been said that he "and Colonel Sir Robert Wilson anticipated 1859, 1866, and 1870."¹ To a considerable extent Castlereagh supported Bentinck, and he undoubtedly desired to see constitutional rule in Italy. For he had made suggestions to Murat with regard to a constitution, but that untrust-

Castlereagh's
policy in
Italy.

¹ 'Quarterly Review,' January 1910, p. 347.

worthy adventurer had acquainted the Austrian Government with the tenor of these suggestions. The Austrians at once demanded the dismissal of Bentinck, for they feared that his influence would deprive them of the future possession of Milan. The position was a difficult one for the English Foreign Office. Napoleon's escape from Elba might take place at any moment. "Our Italian regiments at Milan would desert in a body rather than serve Austria," while, in the event of Napoleon's escape, it was vital that Great Britain and Austria should remain united.

In the autumn of 1814 Bentinck was in London, and became aware that Castlereagh was in favour of "keeping open the Italian settlement." All the Allies were agreed that the Bourbons should not be allowed to return to the Italian Peninsula. Bentinck was again in Italy in October 1814, acting "as Commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Mediterranean." The Austrian Government was kept fully acquainted with the growth "of the movement in favour of Italian independence, of which 'the heart and centre is formed by Genoa, under the protection of the English.'"¹ There is no room to doubt that Castlereagh desired to see constitutional rule

¹ 'Quarterly Review,' January 1910, p. 253.

established in Italy. In his opinion Italy would thus become a contented nation. Events turned out otherwise, and though the establishment of constitutional rule in Italy was postponed for half a century, the attitude of the English Government was somewhat similar to that adopted in the years 1859-61, when Italy secured her independence.

At the Congress of Vienna the claims of Russia and Prussia with regard to Saxony were opposed by Great Britain, Austria, and France, and for a time it seemed that their differences might lead to a great European war. Eventually agreement was come to, and the rearrangement of Europe was settled. Great Britain—whose position in India, thanks to the efforts of the Marquess Wellesley and his brother, Arthur Wellesley, was now assured—remained in possession of what she secured by the Treaty of Amiens, and in addition retained the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, Heligoland, the Ionian Islands, and the Mauritius,—possessions which attested the realisation by her Ministers of the importance of securing the route to India, and of strengthening her power at sea. Her interest in preserving the independence of Belgium was seen in the steps taken to unite that country with Holland,—a statesman-

The
Congress
of Vienna,
1814-1815.

like measure, the object of which was defeated in 1830 by the racial and religious antagonisms of the two states.

The
battle of
Waterloo.
Triumph
of British
foreign
policy.

The escape of Napoleon from Elba, followed by The Hundred Days, the battle of Waterloo, and the exile of the defeated Emperor to St Helena, formed a dramatic close to a period of unexampled danger to the liberties of Europe. The Second Treaty of Paris in November 1815 saw the complete success of British foreign policy initiated by Pitt and carried out by Castlereagh.

PERIOD VII.

1815-1856.

THE GROWTH OF ANTAGONISM
BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA.

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ARGUMENT.

THE close of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars found Great Britain holding a leading position in Europe. Before many years were over, she realised the impossibility of agreeing with the reactionary policy of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and showed sympathy with the struggle of the Greeks for independence, with the French Revolution of 1830, and the Revolution in Belgium the same year.

The rise of Russia to a pre-eminent position on the Continent roused the suspicions of the British nation, especially when that Power attempted to establish a permanent influence at Constantinople, and at the same time to secure an influence in Afghanistan. The predominant power of Russia showed itself in 1849, when its armies came to the aid of Austria in Hungary.

The prevailing opinion in England that Russia's influence in the Far and Near East must be checked was illustrated in the Crimean War.

THE GROWTH OF ANTAGONISM BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA.

THE fall of Napoleon was followed by the famous attempt to set up a stable concert of Europe. After the fall of Napoleon. "A European League of 'Christian Republics'" was to be established, with a central assembly for deciding all questions of dispute between nations. The four Great Powers—Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain—formed a powerful Quadruple Alliance, which for a time dominated Europe. But under this apparent harmony there could be detected signs of coming difficulties. The predominance of France under Napoleon had been checked only to give place to the predominance of Russia under Alexander. The alliance of France and Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit was by no means forgotten, and the fear of its renewal haunted the mind of Metternich. Metternich, therefore, was unwilling to assume the lead in the councils of Europe, while the Prussian king, closely allied with the Tsar and occupied

with the reorganisation of Prussia, was unable to play any prominent part in foreign politics. Great Britain desired a period of peace in order to carry out long-delayed reforms as long as "a just equilibrium of forces" was maintained on the continent, and was by no means anxious to take the initiative in matters of European interest.

Alexander of Russia was thus, to his intense satisfaction, "the central figure of the Confederation of Europe," and to men who remembered Tilsit an object of dread. His scheme of a Holy Alliance, announced in September 1815, was formally accepted by Europe, though Castlereagh and Metternich expressed privately their utter contempt of the project. At the conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, France was treated generously and restored to her position among the European Powers. The Military Committee, however, established through the influence of Metternich at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of organising if necessary a general armament, was by no means in consonance with the views of Castlereagh.

In 1820 a congress met at Troppau, and in January 1821 was transferred to Laybach. The political situation in Italy was the chief subject

The
Holy
Alliance.
Congresses
of Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1818, and
Laybach,
1821.

of discussion. England, however, disapproved of the proposal of intervention, and sent no representatives to the congress. At Laybach, to Metternich's satisfaction, a manifesto was issued calling attention to the disturbed condition of Spain, Italy, and the East of Europe, where Ypsilanti, the friend of Capodistrias, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, had raised the standard of revolt.

In 1822 a congress met at Verona. Castlereagh died when just starting for Verona, but his successor at the Foreign Office, Canning, continued his policy, and ordered the Duke of Wellington, who represented Great Britain, to be guided by the instructions which Castlereagh had drawn up. It cannot be too strongly emphasised, in view of the erroneous views so long prevalent, that "Canning's acceptance of office made no break in the continuity of the policy of the Government."¹

Congress
of Verona.
Death of
Castlereagh,
1822.

The affairs of Italy, Turkey, and Spain were discussed at the congress. With regard to Italy, Great Britain simply supported the existing treaties. The Greek rising had brought into prominence "the total paralysis of the Ottoman

Canning's
policy.

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. x. p. 33. Cambridge: University Press, 1907.

naval power in the Levant," and it was evident that Great Britain was viewing the situation in a light favourable to Greek independence. The relations of Spain to her revolted Colonies brought out the fact that Great Britain had already practically recognised the independence of the latter, and though Canning had no intention to break the treaties which already bound together the great European powers, he declared himself emphatically against any "interference in the internal concerns of independent nations."

The question of the Spanish colonies and that of Greek independence had arisen since 1815, and with the treatment of these questions Canning's name is closely connected. In March 1823 Great Britain recognised the Greeks as belligerents; in December of the same year the Monroe doctrine of "America for the Americans" was published; in 1824 the independence of the South American republics of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico was announced in Parliament.

Policy of
England
and Russia
in Eastern
Europe.
The
Independ-
ence of
Greece,
1832.

Though the revolution in Greece was supported by Great Britain, Russia, and France, the Concert of the Great Powers was seriously threatened. Before the Greek question was settled Russia had engaged in a short but successful war with Turkey, which was closed by the Treaty of Adrianople in

September 1829. ✓ The success of the Russians alarmed the British Government, which hastened to secure for Greece its independence. ✓ During these years the relations between Great Britain and Russia had become alarmingly strained, due in great measure to the constantly changing attitude of the British Government. After the conclusion of the war with Turkey, however, in 1829, Nicholas agreed with France and Great Britain in settling the Greek question, and the fall of the Tory Government in November 1830 facilitated a reasonable settlement, for Palmerston advocated the recognition of the complete independence of Greece and the extension of the Greek frontier to the line of Arta - Volo. The Treaty was finally agreed to in 1832, and Greece was placed under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The events of the previous years had attested the influence and power of Russia in Europe, while at the same time she was busy laying the foundation of her empire in the East. Between 1830 and 1840, however, her position in Europe seemed to be endangered, and during those years the seeds of an enmity between Great Britain and Russia were sown which continued till the following century.

Position of
Russia,
1830-1840.

The Convention of München-grätz, 1833, and the Quadruple Alliance, 1834.

It only required the Revolutions in France and in Belgium in 1830 to divide the alliance of the great Powers in two. While Great Britain and France favoured Liberal principles in considering international matters, Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed in September 1833 a league known as the Convention of Münchengrätz, "for the defence of Autocracy against Revolution."¹ That Convention was followed in April 1834 by the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, which alliance owed its existence to the firm attitude taken by Great Britain at the time of the Belgian Revolution. Owing to the determination of the British Cabinet, all aggressive designs of France were checked, and an Anglo-French compact had been made. The King of Holland was compelled sullenly to accept the situation, but it was not till 1839 that Belgium was finally recognised as an independent state. France and England having agreed upon the Belgian question, Palmerston had little difficulty in forming the Quadruple Alliance in answer to the union of the three Eastern autocratic Powers, and the concert of Europe was thus definitely broken up.

The alliance between Great Britain and France

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. x. p. 39.

proved, however, to be by no means a permanent union of the two countries. Though both Powers as constitutional monarchies sympathised with the cause of the Christinists against the Carlists in Spain, the personal rivalry of Palmerston and Louis Philippe prevented either England or France from openly supporting Christina. Before, however, the rivalry of the two countries became very pronounced over Spanish affairs, a fresh crisis in the East almost led to an open rupture between them.

In 1833 Russia and Turkey had made the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which Russia secured control over the Dardanelles and the right of intervention in Turkey. Till the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was signed it is doubtful if the English people realised the immense issues which would be placed before Europe if Russia conquered, or acquired a position of permanent domination over Turkey. If Russia controlled the Dardanelles and Bosphorus the financial credit of Turkey would completely collapse, while the possession by the Tsar of the northern regions of Asia Minor would menace British influence at Teheran. Consequently from 1833 English public opinion, mindful of Tilsit and Akerman, gradually became suspicious of the northern Power, and in 1838 accused the Tsar's

Relations
of Great
Britain
and Russia
in the East
and Far
East.

government of having instigated the Shah of Persia to seize Herat or the frontier fortress of Afghanistan, in order to aid Russia in her advance upon India. At the same time a Russian political agent had appeared at Kabul. Mutual recriminations followed in spite of the denial by Nicholas of any hostile intentions, the Russians complaining of the British occupation of Kurak Island on the coast of Persia, and of the despatch by Palmerston of a British army in 1838-39 to Kandahar and Kabul.

Nicholas
friendly
to Great
Britain.

That campaign had been most brilliantly executed, and caused much excitement in India; and in 1840, while the British army was still at Kabul, General Peroffsky occupied Khiva. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador in England, was much perturbed by these events, and anticipated an early collision between Great Britain and Russia. Neither Nicholas nor his minister, Nesselrode, however, shared the alarmist views of Pozzo di Borgo, and events in Europe seemed to justify their belief that the friendship of Great Britain might be secured, and maintained.

The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, however, had continued till 1839 to be a stumbling-block in the way of the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries. As long as that

treaty remained in force Turkey lay under the control of Russia, which was supported by Austria, always anxious to preserve the *status quo* in the East. France was not in a position to take any active steps to secure her preponderance in the Mediterranean, and Great Britain, always hoping for the establishment of a government at Constantinople independent of Russian pressure, was forced to wait and watch.

In 1839 the action of the Sultan gave the Western Powers an opportunity of intervening in the affairs of Turkey. Great Britain had for some time been apprehensive of the results of the creation by Mehemet Ali of a vast Arab empire, and in 1839 occupied Aden. The outbreak in April 1839 of war between Turkey and Mehemet Ali was followed by a European crisis. Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet, won the battle of Nessib, and the great Powers, with the exception of France, to prevent the isolated action of Russia, united to save Turkey from the results of defeat. France, however, championed the cause of Mehemet Ali, being anxious to check the growth of British power in the Mediterranean; and to establish her influence in Egypt.

Turkey
saved by
the Great
Powers,
1840.

Nicholas had always been anxious to destroy

the alliance between England and France, and had long wished to be on good terms with England. "The rift in the Anglo-French *entente*" it was his wish to widen, he offered to abandon the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and proposed that the Turco-Egyptian question should be settled by the great Powers. In July 1840 Russia, England, Prussia, and Austria formed a Quadruple Alliance, the object of which was to defend the Sultan against Mehemet Ali. France was isolated, and Mehemet Ali was coerced.

The Convention
of the
Straits,
July 1841.

The Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* was a signal triumph of Russian diplomacy, and the Convention of the Straits, signed in July 1841 by all five Powers, closed the Dardanelles to all warships.

"Thus for the sole protectorate of Russia . . . was substituted a collective guarantee of Turkish independence by the rest of Europe."¹ Russia, however, could not rest under this set-back to her diplomacy, and "the germ of the Crimean War may in a sense be found in the Convention of the Straits."²

¹ Skrine, 'The Expansion of Russia,' p. 139. Cambridge: University Press, 1904.

² During the years 1839-1842 a United Canada was formed (1839). A war with China, by which we gained Hong-Kong, was waged (1840-1842).

In spite of the renewal of friendly relations with Russia as far as regarded European affairs, Russian intrigues in Afghanistan occupied the serious attention of Lord Auckland, who from 1836 to 1842 was Governor-General of India, and at the end of 1840, as has been stated, a British force invaded Afghanistan, and a British Resident was placed in Kabul. Dost Mohammed, a usurper, and who favoured the Russians, was expelled. In November 1841 a rising took place, and Macnaghten, the British Resident, and Burnes, who was about to replace him, were murdered. A treaty of evacuation was then agreed to by the British, who began to retreat to the frontier. The massacre of the whole body, 16,500, with the exception of Dr. Brydon, by the treacherous Afghans, followed. In 1842 General Pollock, by advancing to Cabul, restored British prestige. By the end of 1846 British ascendancy over the states bordering on India was established. Sind was annexed in 1843. Scindia submitted in the same year, and handed over Gwalior to the British authorities. In 1845-49 the Sikhs were overthrown, and both banks of the Sutlej passed into British hands. In spite, however, of the strengthening of the British power in India, Nicholas remained confident that a Russo-British

British failure and success in Afghanistan, 1840-42. Advance to the Sutlej.

alliance was desirable, especially with regard to the situation in Europe, which occupied his chief attention.

Strained
relations
with
France,
1846-48.

The relations of Great Britain and France remained far from friendly, in spite of the visit of Louis Philippe to England in October 1844. Difficulties with France had arisen in China and in Tahiti, while the French attack on Morocco roused British suspicion. In 1846, on the formation of a Ministry under Lord John Russell, the question of the Spanish marriages came up for discussion. French intrigues for a time won a triumph over British influence in Spain, but its most serious effect was to further alienate public opinion in England just before the downfall of the Orleanist monarchy in France in 1848, and the outbreak of revolutionary movements in Europe, followed by the re-establishment of the Hapsburg ascendancy in Italy, Hungary, and throughout the Austrian dominions, and by the rise of a Napoleonic empire in France. This last event brought about Palmerston's dismissal from office on December 19, 1851, followed by the fall of the Russell Ministry on February 20, 1852, and by the establishment of Lord Derby in office from February to December 1852, who was succeeded by Lord Aberdeen's Whig Ministry,

The Rev-
olutions
of 1848
and after.

which remained in power till February 1855. That Ministry included Palmerston as Home and Russell as Foreign Secretary, and saw the outbreak of the Crimean War and the definite alienation of Russia, an alienation which continued till the early years of the nineteenth century.

In 1844 the Tsar Nicholas had paid his well-known visit to England, and on his departure appeared satisfied that he and the British ministers held similar views with regard to the inevitable break-up of the Turkish Empire. His surprise was real when he discovered a few years later that his views were not acceptable to the British nation.

The Tsar Nicholas, at the time of the opening of hostilities, had no reason to anticipate any change in the position which Russia held in Europe. His relations with Great Britain were friendly; Austria owed him a deep debt of gratitude for the help received during the revolutionary period of 1848-49; Prussia was a faithful ally; France had only just emerged from a revolution, and at the head of her Government was a man whom Nicholas regarded as an adventurer.

Circumstances leading to the Crimean War.

Confident in his belief in the coming break-up

of the Turkish power, Nicholas firmly believed that Lord Aberdeen, who had formed a Ministry in January 1853, would unite with him in arranging for the disposal of the Ottoman territories. The Tsar's three well-known interviews with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador, gave no indication of the coming conflict. The views of Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, however, were certainly not in full agreement with those of Nicholas, while in Great Britain people were not convinced that Turkey was on its death-bed. Should, however, the Tsar's apprehensions prove correct, the Cabinet was willing that a congress of the great Powers should meet to consider the situation.

Meanwhile an estrangement between Russia and France had taken place in consequence of a dispute between the Latin and Greek Churches over the "custody of the sacred places at or near Jerusalem." While Napoleon supported the rights of the Latin Church, Nicholas supported those of the Greek Church. Nevertheless, it was not till April 1853, when Prince Menschikoff demanded at Constantinople that the Greek Church in Turkey should be placed under Russian protection—a demand which, if conceded, would have given Russia considerable influence

in every Turkish province,—that the position became in any way critical. Even then a congress of the great Powers which met at Vienna in July, and which issued a Note, seemed to have averted all danger of war. That war broke out was immediately due to the unexpected refusal of Turkey to accept the Note without modifications. Her insistence on these modifications, it has been alleged, was due to the well-known private views of Lord Stratford, the British ambassador at Constantinople. The effects of this refusal were immediate and far-reaching. The concert of the four Powers was broken up, Turkey in October 1853 called upon Russia to evacuate the Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), and a state of war between the Porte and Russia arose. An attempt of the great Powers at mediation in December had no effect, owing to the destruction of a Turkish squadron on November 30 by a Russian fleet—the massacre of Sinope.

The news of this event caused great indignation in England and France. The fleets of these two nations had already passed the Dardanelles, and in both England and France strong war parties were now in existence. Lord Palmerston headed a section in the British

Cabinet which distrusted Russia and believed in the possibility of Turkish regeneration. The refusal of the Tsar to accept the Note of December seemed to justify the opinions of those who distrusted Russia, and early in 1854 England and France declared war.

The
Crimean
War,
1854-56.

The outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 marks the termination of the period of Russian predominance in Europe, which had existed since the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815. With its close the chief place in European politics was taken by France, which under Napoleon III. reasserted, though in a modified form, that influence which she had wielded under Napoleon I.

The im-
portance
of the
Crimean
War.

From the Congress of Paris in 1856 till 1870 France held the foremost place in Europe. For some fourteen years Great Britain had no cause for anxiety with regard to the advance of Russia in Asia, for though Russia continued to move eastwards, she in no wise threatened our position in India. Till 1877, too, Turkey was in no danger of any fresh assault upon her dominions. She had thus ample time and opportunity, had she so wished, to carry out drastic reforms in her administration and treatment of the subject-races in her dominions.

In any case, the Crimean War had not been fought in vain. Time was given for the subject Christian races within Turkey to develop, and in 1877-78 Russia, though successful, found that insuperable barriers had been placed in her path to Constantinople.

PERIOD VIII.

1856-1871.

THE WEAKENING OF
BRITISH INFLUENCE IN EUROPE.

CONTENTS.

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ARGUMENT.

BETWEEN the years 1856 and 1870 the course of British foreign policy was similar to that followed after the successes in France ending in the Treaty of Bretigny, during the reign of James I. and Charles I., after the Peace of Paris in 1763, and after 1815. A period of brilliant military successes has always been followed in England by a violent reaction, during which the reputation of the country on the continent has suffered severely.

The period after the Crimean War was not an exception. In spite of the efforts of Palmerston, the foreign policy of Great Britain weakened, and the influence of the country in Europe rapidly lessened. It was not till 1874 that England again asserted her right to be treated as one of the great Powers.

THE WEAKENING OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN EUROPE.

THE close of the Crimean War found France occupying in Europe the position held by Russia since the fall of Napoleon. Prussia was but slowly recovering from the rebuff which she had received in 1850 at Olmütz. Sardinia by her conduct in the Crimean War had compelled the favourable regard of England and France, and had won a distinct position in the councils of Europe. Till the close of the Prusso-Austrian War in 1866 France enjoyed "the primacy of Europe." The Napoleonic name undoubtedly was of enormous advantage to the French Emperor, for it reminded Frenchmen of an epoch glorious in the history of France. "The period of ten years," wrote Mr Gladstone, "from the Crimean War was for France a period unquestionably of towering influence, prosperity, and weight."¹ The reputation which Napoleon III. had won for France

France
after the
Crimean
War.

¹ 'Gleanings of Past Years,' vol. iv. p. 229.

during the Crimean War had made his position secure and his influence in Europe overwhelming. Cavour at once recognised that for the furtherance of his aims in Italy Napoleon's support was indispensable. And there is no doubt that down to the Treaty of Villafranca, Napoleon's aid to Sardinia was favourably regarded by such men as Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, though their views were not in harmony with those held by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort.

Cavour
and
Napoleon.

In winning Napoleon to his side Cavour had a difficult task. He himself came from a conservative stock, and was suspect to democrats. No European Government was wholly or consistently a supporter of his objects or entirely sympathetic to his aims. In 1859 the Conservative Government, which in that year fell, was, like the Court, favourable to Austria and unfriendly to Sardinia. It has been said that "if the Crimean War had never been fought, the two subsequent decades of the century would not have seen the formation of a united Italy and a united Germany." During that war Cavour had realised that the cause of Sardinia would be advanced if Italian troops aided France and England. By so doing he secured the sympathies of both Powers for the cause of Italian unification.

The Crimean War being over, and the position of Sardinia being enormously enhanced, Cavour approached the French Emperor. While Napoleon hesitated, the attempt on his life by Orsini took place on January 14, 1858. The first effect was to rouse violent indignation in France against England, which country, it was said, harboured assassins and enabled them to prepare their schemes without danger of interruption. The feeling in France was aptly reproduced by 'Punch,' a cartoon in which journal represented some French colonels begging Napoleon to lead them against England.

Orsini's attempt. The Volunteer Movement in England, 1858.

The most important result, however, of Orsini's attempt was a secret meeting between Napoleon and Cavour at Plombières. The interview, which was kept secret, was "one of the most decisive moments in the history of Europe." Napoleon made it a condition that the proposed war against Austria should be one capable of justification in the eyes of Europe, and that it should be non-revolutionary.

The meeting at Plombières.

In England the general feeling was strongly in favour of Italy, though the Court remained sympathetic with Austria. The English Ministry did indeed attempt to avert war. In February Lord Cowley, our representative in Paris, went

War of Italian Independence, 1859.

to Vienna to try and negotiate a settlement. But Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary in Lord Derby's Ministry, persisted in thinking that the principals were France and Austria, and never recognised that the key of the situation was at Turin, not at Paris. Like English statesmen of all parties, he was quite unaware that "the moving spring of foreign politics" was the spirit of nationality.

In April 1859 war broke out, and on the 30th of that month the French troops entered Turin.

Attitude
of Great
Britain
during and
after the
Italian
War of
Independ-
ence.

The victories of Montebello, Magenta, and Solferino seemed to be decisive as far as Sardinia was concerned, but Napoleon, fearful of an attack on France by Prussia, suddenly concluded peace at Villafranca on July 14, 1859. He had no wish to see a strong and united Italy, and the danger to the Papacy alarmed the Roman Catholics in France. He apparently hoped that though Sardinia would find herself strengthened the unification of Italy would not take place. At this crisis in the history of Italy the whole influence of the Palmerston Ministry, which was in office from June 1859 to 1865, was thrown on the side of Italian unity.

While Garibaldi was in 1860 winning successes in South Italy, the movement for unification spread

through the centre of the Peninsula. Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary in the English Ministry, strongly supported the cry of Italy for the Italians. Napoleon, surprised, hesitated, and eventually contented himself with the annexation of Savoy and Nice. By so doing he dealt a severe blow at the friendship of England with France. The aggressive attitude of the military party in France had already produced the Volunteer movement in England, which was followed by army and navy reforms. In February 1861 the first Italian Parliament met at Turin, and Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy. The English Ministry had good reason to congratulate itself on the success of its policy with regard to France and Italy. Its influence had enabled the Italians to secure independence and unity.

It was not so successful with regard to Poland and Denmark. The Polish insurrection of 1863 aroused the sympathies of both the English and the French nations. Both Governments lodged protests at St Petersburg against the severity with which the insurrection was suppressed. The protest of Napoleon was treated with contempt, while it was suggested to the English Government that it should turn its attention to Ireland.

Failure of
English
intervention in the
matter of
Poland.

The
Danish
War,
1863-1864.
Bismarck's
policy.

With regard to the Danish War, the failure of the British and French Governments to concur in a decided policy exposed the military and naval weakness of both countries, while in Prussia the inability of the British and French Governments to agree upon the adoption of a clear policy was naturally taken advantage of. Bismarck never had the slightest intention of placing Frederick of Augustenburg in possession of Holstein. He desired the acquisition of Kiel, with the view of laying the foundations of the German navy. Lord Palmerston, alone of the ministers, understood the real objects of Prussian policy. He therefore earnestly desired to go to war in 1864, but he was supported in the Ministry by (with qualifications) Lord Russell alone, while the Emperor Napoleon wrecked all chances of a union between England and France by his avowed determination to acquire lands on the left bank of the Rhine, including probably Mainz. To this even Lord Russell would not agree. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, though he did not approve of French aggression on the Rhine, saw that it was less dangerous to England than Prussian aggression in the North Sea. When once, however, he was forced to realise that the Cabinet would not accede to Napoleon's terms, he was compelled to

yield, and to leave Denmark to its fate. The Danes might indeed have obtained better terms than they did had the Danish Prime Minister, Monrad, not refused to make the only concessions that could have saved the situation. As a result German unity was brought about, not by the enlightened policy advocated by the Prince Consort, but by the policy of "blood and iron."

The wisdom of adopting decisive measures so as to prevent the dismemberment of Denmark is now recognised, and the failure of the English Government to support Palmerston's policy had consequences momentous for Europe, disastrous for France, and more or less serious for England. The year 1864 is consequently regarded by some German writers as the year in which England was unconsciously conquered. "Had Schleswig-Holstein remained Danish, the right bank of the Elbe up to the gates of Hamburg would not have been German territory, and the Canal from the Baltic to the North Sea an impossibility."

Import-
ance of the
year 1864
in British
history.

The Danish War was nothing less than a turning-point in European history. Had England and France acted together, that war would have had a very different conclusion from what was actually arrived at. As it was, Napoleon and

Import-
ance of the
Danish
War.

the British Government were unable to come to an agreement. Napoleon failed to appreciate the real character of the situation, and "had no knowledge of the position Prussia was gradually attaining"; while, until he had arrived at a clear understanding with France, Lord Palmerston should never have allowed himself to give public encouragement to Denmark. He does not seem to have realised that England's naval and military strength was inadequate to the task of supporting Denmark without allies.

Effect on
England
and
France of
its Danish
War.

The European importance of the failure of England and France to act together at this crisis cannot be overestimated. The defeat of France in 1870, and the subsequent preponderance of the great military empires of Germany, Russia, and Austria, followed from the inability of England and France to unite in active intervention in the Danish war. As it was, Napoleon III.'s failure to act with England on behalf of Denmark, and the consequent neutral attitude adopted by England, mark an epoch in the history of Europe. The Danish War marks, moreover, the beginning of the ascendancy of the military monarchies. Till 1874 England was regarded with contempt. Great Britain's decision in favour of non-intervention has been aptly described as "an epoch in the history

of our foreign relations,"¹ for it exemplified "the abiding weakness of the British conduct of foreign affairs, . . . the renunciation by Great Britain of a leading *rôle* in strictly continental politics,"² and forced upon England the realisation that without a strong army and powerful allies, her interests as a great industrial state rendered her effective intervention in foreign affairs impossible.

The military weakness of England in 1864 was what paralysed Lord Palmerston. It was not till the accession of the Conservatives to office in 1874 that it began to be recognised in England that non-intervention does not exclude "the possibility of definite views of foreign policy," and that "the development of the forces in favour of the extension of imperial responsibilities" does not necessarily involve a policy of aggression.³ Thus the failure of England and France to act together in 1864, at a most momentous period in modern history, led to the temporary relegation

¹ 'Edinburgh Review,' April 1905, p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 287.

³ During the years 1856-1869, owing to our position "through our trade with semi-barbarous nations," we had come into conflict with Persia and China in 1856, with China in 1859, with Japan in 1862, with the Ashantees in 1864. In 1868 a war against Abyssinia was successfully carried out by Lord Napier. A severe criticism of the policy towards Japan is to be found in the Essays of the late Marquess of Salisbury.

of England into a secondary place in Europe, the fall of the French Empire, the supremacy of military monarchies, and the formation of the German Empire.

Important
events
between
1864 and
1870.

During the years following the Schleswig-Holstein "affair" events moved rapidly. The next few years saw the victory of the Federal cause in America, the failure of the French in Mexico, the steady weakening of the Napoleonic *régime* in France, the triumph of Prussia over Austria, the gradual development of the Italian kingdom, and in 1870 the outbreak of the Franco-German War.

Bismarck's
prepara-
tion for
war with
France.

When the crisis in the relations of France and Prussia came in July 1870, and Napoleon III. found himself at war with Germany, *France was without allies*. The French Government persisted in thinking that South Germany would support her, though their agents in Germany knew better. It is true that the South German States had no love for Prussia, but in 1866 Bavaria had signed a treaty of alliance with Prussia, and to draw back would have been nothing less than "a shameful breach of faith." The adherence of South Germany meant, we are told, the addition of 150,000 men to the Prussian armies.

What was even more serious, Austria, the

natural ally of France, remained, like England, neutral. Her defeat in 1866 had seemed to render it certain that she would come to the aid of France in 1870, but in that critical year Russia threw the weight of her influence on the side of Prussia. She resolved to prevent Austria from entering the war, and she successfully ensured its neutrality. Austria was forced, though very reluctantly, to remain inactive.

Attitude of Austria and Italy.

There did seem at one time some chance of Italy coming to the assistance of France, for Victor Emmanuel refused Bismarck's offer of a bribe, in the shape of Savoy, Nice, and Rome, as the price of Italian neutrality. But Napoleon's action in Italy in 1867 rendered all hope from that quarter futile. In September 1867, taking advantage of the withdrawal of French troops from Rome at the end of 1866, Garibaldi had invaded the States of the Church. The French Catholics were furious, and Napoleon was compelled in October to despatch a French force from Toulon to Italy. On November 6 the French completely routed Garibaldi's army at Mentana, and Napoleon's "rupture with the Italian patriots was now complete." On December 4 it was officially announced in the French Chamber by Rouher that "Italy should never take Rome," and the announcement was applauded.

Mentana had thus an immense importance. Though the French Revolutionary party was furious with "the supporters of authority," at this critical moment Italy and France were set at enmity, and Victor Emmanuel, eager as he had been at an earlier stage to intervene on Napoleon's behalf, had to yield to the popular feeling, and to the advice of his ministers: "his sword only rattled in the scabbard."

Attitude
of Eng-
land
during the
Franco-
German
War.

The Franco-German War, after the defeat of Austria in 1866, had been regarded by far-seeing men as inevitable. Dr. Brandis, in a letter to Morier in 1870, states that as early as 1867 Prévost-Paradol told him: "*La guerre entre la France et la Prusse est inévitable, elle ne durera pas longtemps, cela sera un duel.*"¹ The English Foreign Secretary at the opening of the Franco-German War was Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon having died on June 27. Sir Robert Morier, our Ambassador at Darmstadt, was always strongly of opinion that had England supported Germany there would have been no war. "The war," he said, "could have been prevented, if for twenty-four hours the British people could have been furnished with a backbone,—it is too late now."²

¹ Wemyss, 'Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier,' vol. ii. p. 149, note. London: Edward Arnold, 1911.

² Ibid., p. 153.

During the war the animosity felt by Germany towards England became very marked, one reason of which was that the French obtained without difficulty coals, horses, and ammunition from England. Though no doubt the British coal-owners, the manufacturers, and horse-dealers would have sold their goods to Germany, that country, not having command of the sea, could not effect purchases in England.

In connection with these grievances of the Germans against England, Morier makes a significant prophecy. While hoping that on the conclusion of the war the hostility of Germany to England will subside, he says that he fears "this may not prove to be the case."¹ Moreover, he adduces another significant reason for the hostility of the Germans to England. The Germans, he says, regarded the Franco-German War as a continuation of the War of Liberation against the Great Napoleon, in which war England supported Germany. Wellington and Blucher had ever since those days been associated in the popular mind, and therefore England's neutrality in 1870 seemed, especially to the North German Army, as nothing short of desertion. This cause of "the growing estrangement of the Germans towards

German
animosity
towards
England.

¹ Wemyss, 'Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier,' vol. ii. p. 159.

England is," says Morier, "subtle in its nature," but none the less a very important one.¹ Moreover, the English Ministry, Morier asserts, showed no sign of realising the import of the events on the continent. Some anxiety was exhibited about the integrity of Belgium, but Irish and home affairs generally occupied the chief attention of the ministers.

The
neutrality
of Belgium
and
Luxem-
burg.

The fear about Belgium was, according to Morier, quite imaginary, and due to the idea in ministerial circles that the war was a Bismarckian one. The war, he affirms, was a German war, the peace would be a German peace, and "the German nation would never consent to the dismemberment of innocent countries like Belgium and Holland."² At the same time, it must be remembered that Napoleon had made to Bismarck proposals for the partition of Belgium which have been described as "infamous." Their publication in 1870 by Bismarck did much to deprive Napoleon of English sympathy. At any rate, it seems clear that whether Belgium and Luxemburg—both neutral states—

¹ Wemyss, 'Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier,' p. 159. Note, p. 165—In a letter of Aug. 9, 1870, Morier says: "We are heaping up to ourselves the undying hatred of this German race, because we cannot muster up courage to prevent a few cursed Brummagem manufacturers from driving their unholy trade."

² Ibid., p. 167.

were in actual danger or not of invasion by either belligerent, it was necessary to take steps to assure their independence. Accordingly Lord Granville, fearful of any attack on their "territorial integrity," was fully justified in securing the adhesion of Prussia and France in August 1870 to treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, and at a later date to similar treaties with regard to Luxemburg.¹ The independence of Belgium was thus safeguarded, and Granville's action in this matter has been described "as decisive as it was bold." At any rate, the object at which he aimed was attained.

On September 4 the French Empire fell, and Granville at once endeavoured to bring about a general pacification. But the Germans, on the tide of victory, were in no humour to think of peace without territorial cessions, and Bismarck treated the advances of Granville with contempt.

The view that Great Britain could have averted the war—a view held by Morier—was asserted by Bismarck, who, according to Lord Augustus Loftus, declared that "Great Britain should have forbidden France to enter on war. She was in a position to do so, and her interests and those of

The fall of
the French
Empire,
Sept. 1870.

The
neutrality
of Eng-
land.

¹ Fitzmaurice, 'Life of the Second Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 42.

Europe demanded it of her.”¹ The neutral position of Great Britain was very openly criticised in letters to the Queen from the King of Prussia and the Crown Princess on the outbreak of hostilities. They asserted that Russia, Austria, and England should have united in enforcing peace in Europe, and they accuse England of showing partiality to France by allowing that country to purchase horses and coals.

At the same time France, through her Ambassador in London, M. de Lavalette, complained that the official attitude of England was unsympathising. Mr Gladstone had indeed wished to express to Bismarck the dislike of the English Foreign Office “to any cession of territory [to Germany] against the wishes of the inhabitants,” but the Cabinet decided, at the urgent instance of Lord Granville, not to adopt the suggestion.

Lord Granville, even after hostilities had apparently become inevitable, did indeed make two efforts to avert the actual outbreak of war. It was too late, and nothing was left for England but the difficult task of a strict observance of neutrality. The memory of Lord Palmerston’s attitude during the Danish war had by no means been forgotten, and the outbreak of hostilities was

¹ Fitzmaurice, ‘Life of the Second Lord Granville,’ vol. ii. p. 38.

at once followed by a somewhat natural outcry in Germany against the English Government for not prohibiting the exportation of coal and arms to France. "There is a feeling," wrote Lord Augustus Loftus from Berlin, "that her Majesty's Government have a partial leaning towards France, and this incident will tend to confirm it."¹ This feeling on the part of Germany was entirely erroneous, for public opinion in England was at the opening of the war decidedly hostile to France, which was rightly regarded as the aggressor.

With regard to the non-interference by the British Government with the sale of various supplies to France, the opinion of an expert on international law should be remembered. Lord Westbury, in a letter to Lord Granville on September 19, defended the "neutrality" of the English Government, and he declared that a nation "intending to be neutral" could not, "on the eve of war between two other nations, alter its own municipal law so as to impose a duty or restraint on its own subjects in their dealings with the intending belligerents, which was beyond the obligations of international law."²

¹ Fitzmaurice, 'Life of the Second Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 37.

² Ibid., p. 68.

The Germans, however, were naturally somewhat disinclined at that time to consider calmly questions of international law, and they continued to resent the correct attitude of the English Government,—all the more so as, with the fall of the Empire and the subsequent siege of Paris, public opinion in England began to veer round to the side of France.

Conclu-
sion.

It is even now difficult to estimate at its proper worth the policy of the Government during the Franco-German War. Mr Stanley Leathes declares "that it is doubtful whether the utmost resolution, vigour, and despatch could have done anything to prevent the collision for which both countries had been preparing, and which Bismarck was determined to hasten."¹ At any rate, it was to the credit of the Administration that the neutrality of Belgian territory was maintained.

Position of
Great
Britain at
the close
of the
Franco-
German
War.

"The defeat of France," it has been well said, "opened up the fountains of the diplomatic deep."² That this was so was quickly recognised by English statesmen. The seizure of Alsace and Lorraine was regretted by Mr Gladstone, who regarded it as "the beginning of a new series of European complications." But no

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. xii. p. 28.¶

² Fitzmaurice, 'Life of the Second Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 70.

action on the part of the English Government could have prevented that annexation, and the close of the war found the balance of power, which had hitherto prevailed on the continent, completely revolutionised, and Great Britain's influence in Europe somewhat diminished. She had indeed acted successfully in the matter of Belgium, but her recognition in 1871, by the Treaty of London, of Russia's abrogation of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris (1856), and together with the result of the Alabama Arbitration in 1872, were not calculated to meet with favour by the English people, nor to enhance her reputation abroad.

The relations of Great Britain and Russia are happily, at the present time, of a most friendly character, and the mutual fears and suspicions, which existed for many years after the Crimean War, are now a thing of the past. Those fears and suspicions on the part of the British nation were caused by the continuous advance of the Russian power in Asia—an advance which, it was generally believed, constituted a menace to our position in India;—and also by the conviction that Russia was aiming at the possession of Constantinople. In 1868 Russia's annexation of Samarcand had caused anxiety in ministerial

Relations
of Eng-
land and
Russia,
1856-1871.

circles; while in 1870 the Tsar declared that he would no longer be bound by the Treaty of Paris, concluded at the close of the Crimean War in 1856, and by which the Black Sea was declared neutral. A Conference of the European Powers met in London in January and sat till March 1871. It decided that while Russia was henceforth allowed to build ships in her Black Sea ports, Turkey should be given the command of the Black Sea.

On behalf of Granville, who agreed to this arrangement, so unpopular in England, it must be remembered that his predecessor at the Foreign Office—Clarendon—attached little importance to the Black Sea clauses, and that Lord Palmerston, who in 1856 had pressed for their insertion, always predicted, in a somewhat cynical manner, that they would not be maintained for more than ten years. Any blame, therefore, attaching to England's recognition of Russia's determination to tear up the clauses in the Treaty of Paris relating to the Black Sea should be attributed to Lord Clarendon and to Lord Palmerston, rather than to Lord Granville. The Cabinet was indeed far from being unanimous during the negotiations. It was asserted afterwards by Lord Halifax that he and Mr Childers were

in favour of vigorous action, but that "it was impossible to rouse Gladstone and Granville to a proper sense of the emergency,"¹ and the policy of the Government was ably criticised by Mr Disraeli, who held that Russia should "be left to take the future consequences of her separate action."²

It must, however, be remembered that England held an isolated position in Europe at that time. Paris was besieged by the German armies. France was therefore helpless, and the centre of European politics had already been transferred from Paris to Berlin. France could in nowise aid Great Britain, and Europe, in Mr Gladstone's words, was in "a state of diplomatic paralysis." It must therefore be realised that a policy of resistance would have been difficult to carry out, when the Cabinet was so divided on the question of the proper action to be taken. Public opinion, however, somewhat naturally resented what seemed to be a weak attitude on the part of the Cabinet.

It was, however, more disturbed by the results of the Alabama Arbitration. In May 1871, by the Treaty of Washington with the United States, the

The
Alabama
Arbitra-
tion.

¹ 'Life of Childers,' vol. ii. p. 89.

² Fitzmaurice, 'Life of Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 76. London : Longmans, 1905.

Alabama claims were submitted to arbitration, and by the award, which was delivered at Geneva in 1872, the British Government was called upon to pay heavy damages for the losses inflicted on the trade of the United States during the late Civil War in America. The Treaty of Washington had been subjected to severe criticism by Mr Gladstone himself, and the final award found many hostile critics. However, all serious cause of irritation between the Anglo-Saxon races on both sides of the Atlantic was removed,—a not unimportant matter at a time when Europe was dominated by military monarchies.

PERIOD IX.

1871-1912.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH
EMPIRE.

CONTENTS.

A new era — Non-intervention — Colonial expansion — European position of Great Britain — Foreign policy — 1874 an important date — The fall of the Liberal Ministry, 1874 — Disraeli Prime Minister, 1874-1880 — Value of the Colonies — Crisis of 1875 — The Eastern Question — Purchase of the Suez Canal shares — Approach of the crisis — War between Russia and Turkey, 1877 — Treaty of San Stefano — The Treaty of Berlin — British occupation of Cyprus — Russian antagonism — Wars in Afghanistan and Zululand — The Gladstone Ministry, 1880-1885 — Great Britain and Italy, 1878-1890 — Crispi and Tripoli — British occupation of Egypt — General Gordon in Khartoum — British failure in the Sudan, 1884-1885 — Warren's expedition to South Africa, 1884 — Penjdeh incident, 1885 — Serious situation — Relations between Russia and Germany less friendly — German Colonial aspirations — Heligoland — The First Colonial Conference, 1887 — The Ministries, 1885-1892 — Lord Salisbury — Great Britain and France at issue over Siam — Our foreign policy, 1894-1905 — Relations of England and France, 1894-1900 — Venezuela — The Armenian Massacres — In the Far East — Occupation of Wei-hai-wei — Lord Salisbury's policy — Reconquest of the Sudan, 1898 — The Fashoda Crisis — The South African War — Isolation of Great Britain — Treaty with Japan — Anglo-French Agreement, 1904 — Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1905 — Anglo-Russian Agreement — Great Britain's position in 1912.

ARGUMENT.

THE years 1871-1912 have seen a most remarkable development in British history.

It is now recognised that a policy of "splendid isolation" is impossible. Great Britain cannot view with indifference the course of events on the continent of Europe. It has been recognised, too, since 1871 that it is important that she should have a powerful influence in all international matters. Till the beginning of the present century Great Britain was often in a dangerous situation owing to her isolation.

That isolation, however, is now a thing of the past, and in future it is imperative that Great Britain should not stand alone. The friendship with France, Russia, and Japan seems to mark a new epoch in our position in Europe.

Side by side with this realisation of the true position of Great Britain in Europe, there has been a remarkable colonial development, and since 1871 Great Britain has added enormously to her colonial possessions.

Her close connection with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, West Africa, and India will have results on the permanency and strength of the Empire of vital importance to the whole civilised world.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE year 1870 marks the beginning of a new era in the West as well as in the East of Europe. In the West that year saw a complete revolution in the existing balance of power by the substitution of Germany for France as the leading State, while in the East the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate marked the beginning of the rivalry of the Christian races in the Balkan Peninsula,—a rivalry which enabled Turkey to maintain itself at Constantinople. At the same time the increase in the military power of Russia was very noticeable, and rendered her a rival to Germany for the leadership of Europe.

After the Crimean War England followed a policy of non-intervention in strictly European affairs. During the years immediately succeeding the Franco-German War that policy was at first adhered to, one exception to which is to be found during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78,

A new era in European history.

The policy of non-intervention

when, on the news of the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano, a British fleet prepared to defend Constantinople.

Colonial
expansion.

Since the Treaty of Berlin, however, owing to the great military organisations which sprang up all over Europe, Great Britain for a time contented herself with strengthening her navy and drawing closer her connection with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. As a matter of fact, from 1870, when England's refusal to side with France proved "a decisive event in the history of our foreign relations," she has been almost uniformly engaged in "a process of expansion outside Europe, with its accompaniment of constant wars." Her success in this process of expansion has no doubt aroused the inevitable jealousy of other European States which have not had the same opportunities of expansion.

Foreign
policy.
Danger
from
Russia and
Germany.

After the close of the Franco-German War the conduct of the foreign policy of the country required a very careful handling. "Our supposed French proclivities during the late war had aroused a very hostile feeling in Berlin, and our constant refusal to enter into any formal alliance with Germany tended to intensify that feeling. Moreover, the Tsar was openly hostile to Great

Britain, and France, without any adequate reason, was alienated. Gradually, however, the relations of England and France improved, and between 1871 and 1878 a close friendship grew up between the two countries.¹

It seemed by no means unlikely, as indeed it turned out, that Russia would intrigue in Afghanistan if she did not actually interfere with our communications with India. In 1878 and 1879 Russian intrigues in Afghanistan led to action on the part of the British Government, and to two invasions of the country, whereby the British position in the country was strengthened.

The danger to Great Britain from the rise of Germany and Russia brought with it a distinct menace to our colonies and dependencies. If Great Britain was overthrown their turn would come next. What rendered the situation especially serious was that till 1874 there was no enthusiasm felt in England for her colonies and dependencies. The Indian Mutiny, the cession of the Ionian Islands in 1863, the Jamaica rebellion in 1865, failed to rouse more than a passing interest among Englishmen, who wondered if the colonies and dependencies should not be given full independence. The Empire, it has been said,

The importance of 1874.

¹ 'Fortnightly Review,' p. 785, November 1897.

was "regarded as a regrettable incident, to be apologised for as half blunder, half crime."

The period from the close of the Crimean War to the fall of the Gladstone Ministry in 1874 was thus a very critical one in English history, and it was fortunate that England's (in many respects) mistaken foreign policy and unappreciative colonial policy had not more disastrous consequences than they had. For the years immediately following the outbreak of the Franco-German War were beset with pitfalls. The Geneva award of 1872, coming directly after Russia's rejection of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris, was unsatisfactory to Great Britain, and was received by most Englishmen with disapproval. But what was more serious, the avowed policy of Bismarck—"the supremacy of Germany in Europe and of the German race in the world"—naturally forced the British Government to watch carefully any fresh developments on the continent.

With the accession of the Conservative Ministry, under the leadership of Disraeli, to office in 1874, a marked change came over the foreign policy of Great Britain. Domestic reforms had for many years absorbed the attention of successive Ministries. While Italy, Prussia, and Austria were

passing through crises of supreme importance to themselves and to the world, Great Britain after the Crimean War had turned her attention to such questions as the Reform of Parliament and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

In 1874 she held in consequence a position in Europe far inferior to that which she occupied at the close of the Crimean War, and it was generally felt that foreign affairs had received scant attention from the Cabinet over which Mr Gladstone had presided. Disraeli, it is said, was "borne to the summit of his ambition by a popular reaction against the activity of Mr Gladstone in domestic affairs, and by irritation at a series of mistakes committed on minor and now forgotten questions."¹ Among those mistakes, none were so serious as the neglect not only of our interests abroad but also of the colonies. From the close of the Franco-German War, however, foreign and colonial policy became closely interwoven. In 1872 Disraeli, in a speech delivered at the Crystal Palace, declared that the Liberals had aimed at the disintegration of the Empire, but that the colonies had decided that the Empire should not be destroyed. This assertion was well-timed, but as a matter of fact the whole

Value
of the
Colonies.

¹ Fitzmaurice, 'Life of Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 151.

nation was to blame for the attitude adopted towards the colonies in the years preceding 1870.

In 1874, however, not only were all parties practically agreed in their appreciation of the value of the colonies, but there was also a general desire that Great Britain should no longer be a *quantité négligéable* on the continent. In the following year the danger of a European war brought home to British statesmen the necessity of a watchful foreign policy.

The
European
crisis of
1875.

The accession to power of Marshal MacMahon, on the fall of Thiers on May 26, 1873, seemed to indicate the adoption of a rebellious attitude by Paris. Even should the extreme democratic party overthrow MacMahon, the danger of aggression on the part of France would, in Bismarck's opinion, by no means disappear. Having formed the Drei-Kaiserbund (Germany, Austria, Russia) in September 1872, which was joined by Italy at the close of 1873, Bismarck seems to have contemplated a fresh attack on France in 1875. The whole affair has never been completely cleared up, but it is evident that Queen Victoria and the Tsar were alarmed at the prospect of war, and threw all their influence on the side of peace. The situation in

some respects seems to have resembled that of August 1911. In both cases a peaceful situation seemed for a short time endangered by a "bolt from the blue."

One result of the "affair" of 1875 was the increase of Bismarck's dislike of Great Britain. Another result was to weaken the League of the Three Emperors, and to lead gradually to a better understanding between Russia and France.

The same year saw the rising of Herzegovina and the consequent reopening of the Eastern Question. Disraeli, the Prime Minister, vigorously supported the policy which had been adopted by England at the time of the Crimean War—encouragement to Turkey and hostility to Russia. The Sultan, in October 1875, promised his Christian subjects remedial measures, and in opposition to Russia, Germany, and Austria, Disraeli insisted that Turkey should be given time to carry out its reform programme. To Disraeli the prospect of uniting India closely to England and of establishing a great Empire had already immense attractions. In November 1875 the purchase by England of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive of Egypt emphasised the adoption of a spirited foreign policy which implied the increase

The Eastern Question, 1875-1880.

The purchase of the Suez Canal shares, 1875.

of British influence in the Levant, though it also implied the risk of war with Russia.

Approach
of the
crisis,
1876.

During the next few months important developments took place. The "Andrassy Note," demanding reforms in Turkey, was refused by the Sultan in February 1876, and the Sultan's assurances failed to satisfy the insurgents. In Constantinople the National Party carried out a revolution. The Grand Vizier was dismissed. The murder of the French and German Consuls at Salonika, the result of the revolution on May 6, showed Europe the danger of Moslem fanaticism. On May 13, the "Berlin Memorandum," insisting on the execution of reforms by the Sultan within two months, was issued. It had been drawn up by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and received the support of France and Italy. England, however, refused her adhesion to the "Note," and thus the efforts of diplomacy failed a second time. On May 24 the British Mediterranean Fleet was ordered to Besika Bay, near to the entrance of the Dardanelles.

Turkey at once took advantage of the rift in the European "concert," no reforms were carried out, and troops were summoned from Asia Minor. Meanwhile exciting events were taking place in Bulgaria and Constantinople. In Bulgaria an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians had

been carried out, accompanied by the destruction of some eighty villages, while Constantinople became the scene of two revolutions. On May 30 the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, was dethroned, and on August 31 his successor, Murad V., who was an advocate of reform, suffered a similar fate, and was succeeded by his brother, Abdul Hamid II., a man of singular ability and astuteness.

The news of these events caused great excitement in England, and indeed in all European countries. Meanwhile, on July 1 and 2, Serbia and Montenegro had declared war against Turkey. Thus on his accession Abdul Hamid found Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro in full revolt against his authority.¹

In England the Ministry was accused of supporting Turkey. Disraeli defended his policy on the ground that his object was not to support the Turks, but "to uphold and protect the British Empire." To effect this object the Prince of Wales had visited India, a Bill was passed giving the Queen the title of Empress of India,² while

¹ The Servians were only saved from annihilation by the intervention of the Tsar. In November an armistice was concluded by Turkey with Montenegro and Serbia, and the latter made peace in March 1877. 77

² On January 1, 1877, the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India at a Durbar at Delhi.

in the previous year the purchase of the Suez Canal shares had been carried out.

War
between
Russia and
Turkey,
1877.

In December 1876, on Lord Derby's proposal, the Great Powers met in Conference at Constantinople. Its efforts to secure the execution of its proposals regarding the autonomy of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina failed, the Conference broke up in January 1877, and shortly afterwards war broke out between Russia and Turkey. On April 24 Russia, having signed a military Convention with the Prince of Roumania, sent troops into European and Asiatic Turkey.

Roumania was the key of the situation, and on May 21 the Prince declared war, and proclaimed his independence. The success of the Russians, who at first seemed irresistible, was checked by the occupation of Plevna by Osman Pasha. From July 20 till December 10 the attention of Europe was concentrated upon the siege of that small town. Its fall seemed likely to be followed by the collapse of the Turkish Empire, for on January 20, 1878, the Russians entered Adrianople, and on January 31, 1878, an armistice was agreed to.

Treaties
of San
Stefano,

"Events in England," we were told, "more than aught else, contributed to the conclusion of

the armistice."¹ In England a violent anti-Russian feeling prevailed in many quarters, and of that feeling the Prime Minister was the chief representative. A contingent of the British fleet entered the Sea of Marmora, but did not enter the Bosphorus. Negotiations ensued. The Russians did not occupy Constantinople, and British forces were not landed. The general unpopularity of the Treaty of San Stefano justified England's determination to embark upon war with Russia if that Treaty was not submitted to a Congress of European Powers. Eight Indian regiments were ordered to Malta, and it became evident that in the event of an Anglo-Russian war Austria would not support Russia. Russia realised that her military position was weakening, while at the same time Nihilism was adopting a menacing attitude. She therefore agreed to submit the terms of peace with Turkey to the Berlin Congress, but before the Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13, England had, on July 1, obtained the assignment from Turkey of Cyprus, to be held so long as Russia remained in occupation of Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan.

Great Britain, in occupying Cyprus, had made herself responsible for the good government of

March 3,
and
Berlin,
July 13,
1878.

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. xii. p. 390.

Christians in Asia Minor, to various parts of which British Consuls were sent. Unfortunately our responsibilities in Egypt from 1882 became increasingly difficult, and the Consuls were removed from Asia Minor by Mr Gladstone's Cabinet, their removal being to no small extent responsible for the disgraceful massacres of the Armenians in 1896-97.

Russian
antagon-
ism to
Great
Britain.

For Great Britain the failure of successive Governments between 1878 and 1890 to enter upon friendly relations with Russia had most disastrous results. During her gradual conquest of Egypt, and her advance in West Africa, Russian intrigues in Persia, Afghanistan, and China continued. England was forced to suppress frontier risings in India, and for a time her influence in China and the Chinese Seas was, as compared with that exercised by Russia, France, and Germany, of little account.

Wars in
Afghan-
istan and
Zululand,
1878-1880.

Before the Conservative Ministry fell in 1880, it had been compelled to enter upon war in Afghanistan, due to Russian intrigues in 1878,—a war which, after the murder of Cavagnari at Kabul in September 1879, was renewed under the leadership of General Roberts, and ended successfully in 1880. The Government in 1879 was also forced to undertake a war in Zululand which,

though successful, was the cause of the Declaration of the Independence of the Transvaal.

The foreign policy of the Conservative Government was thus in some degree successful. It had asserted Great Britain's determination to take part in European affairs; it had brought India and the colonies into closer relations with the mother-country—a fact of enormous importance; it had annexed Zululand in 1879; it had knit together the various parts of the Empire; it had roused an entirely new enthusiasm for that Empire among Englishmen at home and Englishmen in the colonies. It must, however, be noted that the hostility of Russia to England was in no way abated, and that Lord Beaconsfield's advocacy of "the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the Councils of Europe" was open to criticism.

The Gladstone Ministry, which held office from April 1880 to June 1885, was beset by innumerable difficulties. Its anxieties with regard to Afghanistan were indeed ended by the victory of Kandahar in September 1880, but in October war in the Transvaal was necessitated by the Boer declaration of Independence. Though in the following year the Transvaal was granted independence, the troubles of the Ministry were

Summary
of the
difficulties
of the
Gladstone
Ministry,
1880-1885.

by no means ended. In 1882 Arabi headed a military and nationalist rising in Egypt which had effects little anticipated at that time. The French Government came to what has proved to be a most momentous decision in refusing to unite with Great Britain in suppressing the revolt. With the victory of Tel-el-Kebir in September 1882 the existing British Protectorate over Egypt began, and till February 1885 war was continuous.

The Triple
Alliance,
1883.

After the Treaty of Berlin Europe was thus passing through a somewhat anxious period. It was not till the close of the Boulanger episode in 1889 that the Republic in France could be considered stable. During these years Bismarck, who apparently regarded the outbreak of war with France as a not unlikely event, and who realised that Germany could not count upon Russia's friendship, renewed, in 1887, the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy which had been first formed in 1883. It was not till the years 1890-1891, years which saw the fall of Bismarck and Crispi and the beginning of a close alliance between Russia and France, that there was any perceptible improvement in the international situation.

During those anxious years from 1878 to 1891

the relations of Great Britain with Italy were friendly. In 1878, on the whole, however, Great Britain and Italy, 1878-1891. Cairoli's Ministry declined to co-operate with Great Britain in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and the general instability of Italian politics led to the isolation of Italy in Europe till 1883. In 1881 the French had occupied Tunis,¹ and henceforward Italy never ceased to regard her interests in the Mediterranean as threatened by France. In that year, too, the Egyptian question, owing to Arabi Pasha's "declaration," became acute, but, though invited by England to do so, Italy, like France, refused in 1882 to intervene. Crispi was furious, and pointed out what advantages Cavour had gained for Italy by aiding England in the Crimean War. "The Government of Piedmont," he wrote, "had the courage that the Government of Italy lacks to-day." "Europe is a volcano," he again wrote in July 1889, for he believed that the relations of France and Italy were much strained—almost to breaking point. It was naturally of vital importance that Lord Salisbury's intentions should be known.

Italy regarded itself as England's ally, and

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. xii. p. 3. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.

Crispi's alarm was somewhat lessened when it was ascertained that a powerful English fleet would remain in the Mediterranean. Moreover, the French Government, then triumphing over "Bou langerism," was not hostile to Italy, the hostility being confined to the Royalist party and to the sympathisers with the Papacy. The Triple Alliance of 1883 (confirmed in 1887) between Germany, Austria, and Italy existed, and, moreover, in consequence of the attitude of France, the English Government, which was consistently friendly to Italy, was, it is said, "ever hovering near it" (the Triple Alliance).

The year
1890.
The
question
of Tripoli.

The year 1890 proved a very interesting year in the history of European politics. In March Bismarck's fall took place, his successor being von Caprivi; in July an Anglo-German Convention regarding East Africa was signed; in August an Agreement between England and France regarding North Africa was come to. In view of what practically amounted to a permanent French occupation of Tunis (France had been in Tunis since 1881), Crispi, then at the head of the Italian Ministry, urged the occupation of Tripoli by Italy. Lord Salisbury, while agreeing that the Mediterranean must never become a French lake, thought the time inopportune for an Italian

occupation of Tripoli.¹ He apparently feared that any such action by Italy would result in an alliance between Russia and Turkey, accompanied probably by the dismemberment of the latter. Had Crispi remained in power he might, it is thought, have secured the acquiescence of France, and by means of compensations that of the Sultan, to the Italian occupation of Tripoli. Thus he might have anticipated without war the events of 1911-12. But on January 1891 he fell, and the annexation of Tripoli was postponed till the present day.

The events leading to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 are of unusual interest, and that occupation itself has had such a profound effect upon British foreign policy that some account of it is necessary. During the early seventies the condition of Egypt, owing to the financial recklessness of Ismail Pasha, had become a matter of European importance, and in 1876 what is known as the Goschen mission on behalf of the bondholders took place. That was followed, in April 1878, by the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry which included representatives from Great Britain, France, and Egypt. The Khedive accepted the reforms

The
British
occupation
of Egypt,
1882.

¹ 'The Memoirs of F. Crispi,' vol. ii. p. 451. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912.

proposed by the Commission, but at once began a series of intrigues against the Nubar-Wilson Ministry during the year 1878. In April 1879 Ismail brought about the fall of Nubar by what amounted to a *coup-d'état*. His triumph, however, was short-lived, as in January 1879 he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik.

The fall of Ismail has been described as the "death-knell of arbitrary personal rule in Egypt," and the accession of Tewfik as marking the advent of a new era. It gradually became realised in England that Napoleon's saying, that "Egypt is the most important country in the world," was worthy of very careful consideration.

The rising of Arabi, the intervention of Great Britain, the refusal of France and Italy to co-operate, and the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, followed by the British occupation of Egypt, are well-known facts which have had deeply important consequences. The "Dual Control" established between Great Britain and France on the fall of Ismail had broken down with the momentous refusal of France to co-operate in the overthrow of Arabi. The promise made by Mr Gladstone that British troops should be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as order had been re-established,

was found to be impossible of execution owing to the rise of the Mahdi, whose forces having cut to pieces a Khedival army under Hicks Pasha in November 1883, threatened to invade Upper Egypt. The unpopularity of the Egyptian Government and its maladministration of the Soudan led the Soudanese to join the Mahdi most willingly. It was decided by the British Government to send General Gordon to Khartoum, to arrange for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan, which was to be left in the hands of the Mahdi. Gordon found his task impossible of execution and himself besieged in Khartoum. It soon became evident that a relief expedition must be sent to extricate him and the inhabitants of Khartoum from a situation which was rapidly becoming one of great peril. After much delay a relief expedition was organised in the autumn of 1884, under Lord Wolseley, which failed in its object, Khartoum being taken by the Mahdi on January 26, 1885, and Gordon killed.

General
Gordon
in Khar-
toum,
1883-1885.

The Nile expedition had been sanctioned by the Government too late, the reason being, it is stated, that "Mr Gladstone would not accept simple evidence of a plain fact."¹ At the same

¹ Cromer, 'Modern Egypt,' vol. ii. p. 17. London : Macmillan & Co., 1908.

time must be noted Mr Gladstone's defence of his hesitating policy, made on February 23, 1885, when he stated in the House of Commons that "the difficulties of the case have passed entirely beyond the limits of such political and military difficulties" as he "had known in the course of an experience of half a century." The years 1884-85 saw many desperate battles in various parts of the Soudan, and in June 1885 an epoch in Egyptian history closed with the withdrawal of British troops from Dongola, one result of which was a serious blow to our reputation in Europe.

Necessity
of recon-
quering
the
Soudan.

Before many years were over it became quite evident that the Gladstonian plan of leaving the Soudan to the Mahdi, and of expecting a period of tranquillity for Egypt, was impossible of realisation. The rising in the Soudan was no mere attempt to expel foreigners: it was also a missionary enterprise. The Mahdi had summoned the Khedive and the Sultan "to repent, to discard innovations, and to restore the purity of the law." The Mahdist movement, therefore, would not be arrested in the Soudan, and in 1889 the defence of Egypt had to be taken in hand.

General
Warren's
expedition

While Great Britain was thus involved in difficulties in Egypt, an attempt was being made

(in what was known as the Stellaland Expedition, September 1883) by some Boers to occupy part of Bechuanaland, the result of which occupation would have been the cutting-off of communications between Cape Colony and what is now Rhodesia. An expedition under General Warren, however, in 1884, drove out the Boer raiders, with results of incalculable importance to the British race.

While the Government had its hands full in Egypt and in South Africa the Russians, at the end of March 1885, seized Penjdeh from the Afghans, an act which brought Russia and Great Britain to the verge of war,—a position of affairs which was agreeable to Bismarck, who desired above all things that Germany, then showing an immense energy in colonial matters, should have a free hand. Great Britain, however, was in nowise prepared for a war with Russia. “Isolated in Europe, with Ireland seething with sedition (in 1882 the Phoenix Park murders had taken place) and South Africa in a most critical state, the United Kingdom touched the nadir of its fortunes.”¹ The position has also been compared to that in which England found herself in the years 1782 and 1783, to that of Italy after

to South
Africa,
1884.

The
Penjdeh
incident,
1885.
Position
of Great
Britain
in 1885.

¹ ‘Edinburgh Review,’ July 1910, p. 117.

her failure in Abyssinia, and to that of Spain after the Cuban war. Was it the beginning of the end of England's greatness? As in 1864, Great Britain's military weakness paralysed her and compelled her to give up all idea of war. In the opinion of the writer just quoted, the situation in the years 1884-86 "was the most serious that the British race had faced since the years 1810-11."¹

Relations
between
Germany
and Russia
less
friendly.

Fortunately Russia under Alexander III. adopted a policy towards the peoples in the Balkans which alienated Prussia and Austria. The retention of Bessarabia in 1878 had converted Roumania from a Russian ally into a bitter foe, while Bulgaria under Prince Alexander (who in 1885 annexed Eastern Roumelia) and Stambulov, supported by England in 1885-86, became little less hostile. As the relations of Russia to Germany and Austria became less friendly a *rapprochement* between Russia and France, much to the ultimate advantage of Great Britain, became possible.

German
Colonial
aspirations
from 1883.

The weakening of the tie which bound Russia to Germany was all the more important, because, in spite of Bismarck's occasional professions of friendship, a new subject of dispute had arisen between Great Britain and Germany, and with the years

¹ 'Edinburgh Review,' July 1910, p. 117.

1883 and 1884 our relations with Germany had entered upon a new phase. About that time a strong party in the Reichstag began to advocate a policy of colonial enterprise. It was soon, however, realised that Great Britain held or claimed all those parts of the world which Germany coveted. For instance, the Government of the Cape of Good Hope claimed Angra-Pequena in South-Western Africa; Fiji, on which the Germans had cast their eyes, was a British possession; any German attempt to seize New Guinea would be resented by the Australians. The attitude of Lord Granville, who temporised with the question of our rights to Angra-Pequena, was irritating to the German Government, which through its ambassador complained of our unfriendly attitude with regard to colonial questions. In 1884 Great Britain was thus regarded, for various reasons, with jealousy by the German as well as by the French and Russian Governments.

Lord Granville's fascinating personality is recognised by all who came into contact with him. A man with statesmanlike views, he cannot, however, be ranked among England's great Foreign Ministers. After the return of the Liberal party to office in 1880 many were no doubt the shortcomings of England's foreign policy. But it must always be

Heligo-
land.

remembered that in 1884 Lord Granville refused to consider the proposal of Count Münster, the German Ambassador in London, that Heligoland should be ceded to Germany. "Münster said," so runs the record in Lord Granville's diary, "it was as good as impossible that Germany and England should ever be at war, but the cession of Heligoland would strengthen the good feeling of Germany towards this country in an extraordinary degree." In 1885 a further conversation took place, and Münster said that if Germany secured Heligoland it would only be under "conditions which would give all the advantages of the harbour to England."¹ Heligoland, since 1890 a German possession, has become "a fortress pure and simple, the Gibraltar of the North Sea," and in return Great Britain has secured the recognition of her protectorate in Zanzibar.

Summary
of Colonial
develop-
ment,
1880-1885.

It was during the second Gladstone Ministry (between the years 1880 and 1885) that important overseas developments took place. A race for colonial possessions began, and in that race Great Britain was forced reluctantly to take part. In 1881 France invaded Tunis,² much to the anger of

¹ Fitzmaurice, 'Life of Lord Granville,' vol. ii. pp. 361, 425.

² The French occupation of Tunis was gradually effected between 1881 and 1884.

Italy, which in 1883 joined Austria and Germany in a Triple Alliance. In 1882 the British occupation of Egypt took place, and the same year the German Colonial Society was founded and supported by Bismarck, who pressed on its schemes of expansion. In 1883 France proclaimed her protectorate over Madagascar, and annexed that island in 1896. In 1884 Germany appropriated South-West Africa, marked out claims in East Africa, and a few months later occupied part of New Guinea. In 1885 a Conference at Berlin was held to consider the first partition of African territory.¹

Thus in 1887, the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, a profound change had come over the conception of the Empire. That change had first become apparent with the accession of the Conservatives to office in 1874, when Great Britain's responsibilities to India were clearly recognised, and a revolution in our attitude towards the colonies and dependencies gradually took place. Thus the first Colonial Conference, which was held in 1887, marks an epoch in the relations of Great Britain and her colonies. The year 1887, as has been stated, also witnessed the weakening of the ties which bound Russia to Germany, for Alex-

The First
Colonial
Confer-
ence, 1887.

¹ See 'The Round Table,' vol. i. No. 4, pp. 372, 373. 1911.

ander, fearful of a fresh attack on France by Bismarck, was resolved not to be a party to any such scheme.

Lord Salisbury's first Ministry, June 1885 to Feb. 1886.

During his first Ministry, which lasted from June 1885 to February 1, 1886, Lord Salisbury had no opportunity to effect much. He settled finally the Afghan difficulty, and accepted the Union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria.

Mr Gladstone's third Ministry, Feb. 1886 to July 1886.

During the third Ministry of Mr Gladstone, from February to July 1886, Lord Rosebery was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His chief difficulty was with regard to Greece, which, jealous of the extension of Bulgaria, threatened to declare war upon Turkey. By continuing the policy adopted by Lord Salisbury, and by acting firmly, Lord Rosebery restrained the Greeks and averted war.

Lord Salisbury's second Ministry, July 1886 to August 1892.

In July 1886 Lord Salisbury formed his second Ministry, which lasted till August 1892, and colonial and foreign affairs naturally shared with the Irish question the chief attention of the Government. The situation was one which required careful handling. On his accession to office Lord Salisbury found that England was still isolated in Europe, and was regarded with ill-concealed hostility by the chief continental Powers. France, and perhaps Russia, were the

countries most avowedly hostile, our relations with France, owing to our occupation of Egypt, being undoubtedly in a peculiarly strained condition. Consequently Great Britain was naturally impelled to draw near to the Triple Alliance.

In the summer of 1889 the German Emperor visited England, and his visit was pronounced a great success. The occasion was a critical one, but, owing to Lord Salisbury's admirable diplomacy, the relations between Great Britain and Germany were placed on a more satisfactory footing.

"Without contracting any binding alliance," Mr Stanley Leathes writes, "Lord Salisbury showed himself friendly towards the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy."¹ He emphasised the fact that Great Britain had no intention of adopting a hostile attitude towards the aspirations of Germany and Italy to acquire portions of Africa, and he encouraged the delimitation of "spheres of influence" in that continent.

In accordance with these views a settlement was arrived at with Germany in June 1890. While the protectorate of Great Britain over

Treaties
with
Germany,
France,
and
Portugal,
1890.

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. xii. p. 47. Cambridge University Press.

Zanzibar was assured, Heligoland was ceded to Germany, and the English and German spheres of influence in East Africa were settled. In the same year Lord Salisbury made a treaty with France and with Portugal, both treaties having great prospective importance with regard to British development in Africa. France recognised the British protectorate over Zanzibar, and England recognised that of France over Madagascar. From Portugal was obtained a definite recognition of British sovereignty up to the Zambesi and of the free navigation of that river.

The cession of Heligoland and the convention with Germany of June 1890 were severely criticised, but as ably defended by Lord Salisbury. It must always be remembered that our position in Egypt was beset with difficulties, and that till those difficulties were surmounted it was imperative that we should maintain friendly relations with Germany and France. In consequence of the skill and prudence of Lord Salisbury no European war over the partition of Africa took place.

“No British Minister in the nineteenth century used great power with greater moderation, and his [Lord Salisbury’s] career as a Foreign Minister may be quoted as a crowning example of the

successful application of Cobden's famous doctrine of non-intervention, and of its suitability to the needs of a country situated as Great Britain has been since the repeal of the Corn Laws."¹ It must, however, be noted that neither Lord Salisbury nor his successors at the Foreign Office have ever shown any tendency towards the belief that a policy of non-intervention "excludes the possibility of definite views on foreign policy."²

At the same time, when, in 1892, the second Salisbury Ministry was succeeded by a Liberal Administration which held office till July 1895, headed successively by Mr Gladstone, who retired in April 1894, and by Lord Rosebery, much remained to be done before the Empire could be closely welded together, and before friendly relations could be firmly established with any of the great European Powers.

During Lord Rosebery's Premiership difficulties which in 1893 had arisen over the question of the respective spheres of influence possessed by Great Britain and France in Siam became acute. Disputes between the Government of Siam and France over certain territories on the east of the

Liberal
Ministry,
1892-1895.

Danger of
war with
France
over Siam,
1893-1894.

¹ 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 412, p. 281.

² During the years 1886-92 Burmah was annexed, and in 1889 the formation of the British South African Company, of which the moving spirit was Cecil Rhodes, took place.

Mekong had become in the summer of 1893 very serious. In July of that year the French attitude had become so threatening to British interests that Great Britain "was almost driven into war." At one time war between those rival Powers seemed not unlikely to take place, and the summer of 1893 was indeed an anxious time. Eventually, by a treaty signed in October 1893, it was settled that Central Siam—the valley of the Menam—should be neutralised, and that west of it should be the British and east of it the French sphere of influence.¹ These negotiations were finally completed in 1896,² and under her present able monarch Siam remains a buffer State between the French and English possessions.

Lord
Salisbury's
third
Ministry,
1895-1902.
The
foreign
policy
of the
Unionist
Govern-
ment,
1895-1905.

The Unionist Government—a combination of Conservatives, such as Mr Balfour, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Mr Goschen, and Liberal Unionists, such as Lord Hartington, Lord Lansdowne, Mr Chamberlain, and Sir Henry James—came into power in June 1895. It was first under the leadership of Lord Salisbury, and on his resignation, in 1902, under that of Mr Balfour

¹ 'The British Empire,' p. 595. London: The League of Empire, 1909. Hassall, 'Modern England,' p. 167. London: Blackie & Son, 1910.

² In 1907 a treaty between Great Britain and France settled a rearrangement of the French possessions in Siam.

till 1905. It rendered eminent services to Great Britain. "In foreign policy the result of the ten years was the abandonment of the policy of 'splendid isolation,' and the entrance of Great Britain into understandings with several Powers and one binding alliance."¹ Lord Salisbury's wisdom and foresight were especially shown in his constant and eventually successful efforts to place our relations with Russia and the United States on a friendly footing. He thus enjoys an immense credit for having definitely checked that "dangerous and impolitic Russophobia" which had first become a political belief in England during the reign of William IV., and which the Crimean War and Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry had only intensified. Before its fall in 1905 the Unionist Administration had conquered the Transvaal; it had checked all danger to the formation of a South African Federation, or to the development southwards of the Soudanese Government; it had seen the rapid advancement and consolidation of our West African possessions; it had, moreover, initiated friendly relations with France and Russia, and had formed a close alliance with Japan. These results were only attained gradually

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. xii. p. 55. Cambridge University Press, 1910.

and by the exercise of patience, of a spirit of compromise, and occasionally of decision. They were only secured after two wars—the one in the Soudan, the other in South Africa.

The im-
portance
of the
period
1887-1897.

Between the Conference of 1887 and that of 1897 Great Britain passed through an anxious period. "The process of dividing up Africa between the Great Powers was steadily pursued." The conquest and settlement of Rhodesia, East Africa, and Nigeria was proceeded with, while both France and Germany were consolidating their power in North, South-West, and East Africa. In Asia Russia was rapidly advancing, and in 1896, by the Cassini Convention with China, obtained advantages from China. It was evident that in the East, where Japan had suddenly developed into a first-class Power, there was likely to be a struggle for supremacy.

The
Venezuela
dispute,
1895.

During the third Salisbury Ministry British foreign policy showed decision at the time of the Venezuelan dispute in 1895. The Venezuelan dispute, in December 1895, was due to the somewhat aggressive attitude adopted by the American Government with regard to a disputed boundary question in Venezuela. It came just when, owing to the Jameson Raid (December 1895-January 1896), feeling in Germany was very antagonistic

to England. Lord Salisbury at once acted with decision and prudence. A flying squadron was put into commission, negotiations with America were opened, and all danger of a rupture passed away.

In 1895 there had seemed, too, a danger that Europe might be embroiled in a struggle over the partition of West Africa.¹ After the Treaty of Berlin France had steadily advanced along the Niger as far as Timbuctoo. It was evident that the French flag would soon be seen in the Hinterland of our Gold Coast Colony. The activity shown by continuous French expeditions became, indeed, a matter of some anxiety, when in 1896 the news arrived that a French force had marched down the right bank of the Niger, and had occupied Boussa, which was under the English Protectorate, and where an agent of the Niger Company had been stationed for some years. Protests were made, but the French, confident in the continuance of our inactive policy, remained in possession during 1896 and 1897, and practically claimed the country west of the Niger.

Germany was content to stand aside, and England and France were left face to face. Early

Great
Britain
and France
in West
Africa,
1895-1899.

¹ In 1895 troubles took place on the North-West Frontier over Chitral, which led in 1897-1898 to the Tirah Campaign.

in February 1897 matters reached a critical point, owing to the continued aggressions of the French in West Africa and their attempts to occupy posts which were already in the hands of the English. Public opinion in England was now aroused; but the conciliatory attitude of M. Hanoteaux and events in China which diverted public attention in England and France from Africa, averted the outbreak of war, and in June 1898 a Convention settling the respective claims of Great Britain and France was agreed to. The French evacuated Boussa, and were "cut off from the navigable Niger." In the same year England obtained from Portugal the valuable reversion of Delagoa Bay, —a matter doubtless of supreme importance in future years.

The
Græco-
Turkish
War, 1897.

The withdrawal of the English Consuls from Asia Minor in 1882 and the following years had serious results in 1894-1896, when a series of Armenian massacres by the Turks took place on a scale which shocked all Europe. In 1896 massacres occurred in Constantinople; in 1897 the Cretans rose in rebellion, and Greece entered into war with Turkey. The Great Powers had failed to force the Porte to carry out the reforms stipulated for in the Treaty of Berlin; they looked on helplessly at the time of the Armenian

massacres. In 1897-1898, on the initiative of Lord Salisbury, who sent a fleet to Crete, they insisted on the war between Turkey and Greece being brought to an end; they saved Greece from the full effects of its rash action, and they took Crete under their protection.¹

The portion of the foreign policy of the Unionist Government which also provoked considerable criticism was that relating to the Far East. British policy in the Far East, 1897-1898. Until more is definitely known, criticism, though natural, should be suspended. At the close of the war between China and Japan in 1895 France, Germany, and Russia intervened, and Russia made a secret treaty with China. The three European countries insisted that Japan, while receiving Formosa, should not take possession of the Liao-Tung Peninsula. In 1897 Kiaochow was taken by Germany and Port Arthur by Russia. Great Britain made no opposition to the Russian seizure of Port Arthur, and contented herself with occupying in July 1898 Wei-hai-wei. There is no doubt that during these years Great Britain was in danger of being involved in war

¹ The failure to avert the massacres seems to have been due to (1) Lord Salisbury's inability to restore the Concert of Europe; (2) Russia's objection to armed interference on behalf of the Armenians. England's intervention single-handed might have led to a European war.

with Russia, and it is held by some that our fleet should have remained at anchor in Port Arthur and run the risk of a conflict.

It must, however, be remembered that at that time Spain was involved in a war with the United States, the Government of which was, moreover, not prepared to view their interests as indistinguishable from ours. France and Germany would certainly not have supported us, and might have joined Russia. Moreover, the affairs in the Soudan and South Africa were occupying our full attention, our responsibilities in those regions were becoming more and more serious, and the presence of the French in the Nile Valley might lead to a war with France.

The prospect, therefore, of having single-handed to fight against a European combination justified Lord Salisbury's Cabinet in preferring the temporary loss of prestige in the East to being involved in a desperate struggle at a moment when our energies were fully occupied in the Soudan.

As things have turned out, Lord Salisbury's avoidance of war was for the benefit of the British nation. Even then it became evident that in Japan we should find a valuable ally in the future. Though for the moment she suffered a diplomatic defeat, Great Britain had "left the

road open for the subsequent alliance with Japan," and at the same time was devoting her energies to the reconquest of the Soudan.

In 1889 the inevitable Dervish invasion of Egypt had been checked on August 3 at Toski by General Grenfell, who was in 1892 succeeded as Sirdar by General Kitchener. His appointment, which coincided with a growing feeling in England in favour of the reconquest of the Soudan, was of immense importance, and does credit to the foresight and judgment of that great administrator, Lord Cromer. For Kitchener, having completely reorganised the Egyptian Army, proceeded to reconquer the Soudan. The immediate object of the advance into the Soudan was to create a diversion to assist Italy, who was hard pressed between the Dervishes and the Abyssinians — *i.e.*, it was a diplomatic move directed from London, and was not Lord Cromer's policy; but, once begun, Lord Cromer thought it best to support it. That reconquest, which dates from 1896, was authorised by Lord Salisbury in spite of the opposition of France and Russia, and led to a fresh crisis in the relations of England and France, owing to the presence at Fashoda of Colonel Marchand with a small French force. The occupation of Khartoum, on September 2, by

The re-
conquest
of the
Soudan,
1898.

The
Fashoda
crisis,
1898.

Lord Kitchener, after his victories of the Atbara and Omdurman, was followed by a meeting between him and Marchand at Fashoda. War with France seemed not unlikely to break out.

British policy on this occasion showed itself no longer passive and undecided. In 1895 Sir Edward Grey had declared in the House of Commons that "any attempt to encroach upon the Nile Valley would be regarded as an unfriendly act." In 1898, Lord Salisbury's firm and unyielding though conciliatory attitude proved effective, Marchand withdrew from Fashoda in November 1898, and war was averted by the recognition, on the part of France, of the English sovereignty over the waters of the Nile. Early in 1899 Delcassé signed a treaty definitely acknowledging that the whole Nile Valley lay within the British sphere of influence, and about the same time (March 21) an Anglo-French Agreement, satisfactory to France, was come to with regard to the Hinterland of Tripoli.

The South
African
War, 1899-
1902.

On October 12, 1899, the Transvaal Burghers invaded Natal, and thus began the South African War. In their action they were supported by the Government of the Orange Free State. Since the fall of Napoleon I. Great Britain had been engaged in many small wars in Afghanistan, in

Abyssinia, on the West Coast of Africa, in Canada, in Zululand, in Egypt, and elsewhere. But till the outbreak of the war against the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1899, she had engaged in only two other struggles of similar magnitude—the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny.

The South African War had several features of unusual interest. During its continuance contingents from Canada, India, Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand gave their valuable assistance, their presence testifying to the close bonds which united the mother-country to her Colonies and Dependencies. The issues which depended upon the result of the struggle were of immense importance. Failure on the part of the home country meant a general weakening of the growth of Greater Britain. Failure, too, would be followed by the steady increase of German influence in South Africa, and by a disastrous check to the development of Rhodesia (the creation of the great empire-builder, Cecil Rhodes), with consequences almost too serious to contemplate.

The struggle was, in one aspect, simply "to secure political equality for Englishmen in a country where the English composed more than

one-half of the whole white population.”¹ It was also the result of the firm determination on the part of Great Britain that German influence should not become paramount in South Africa. President Krüger had some years previously entered into negotiations with the Emperor of Germany, who, in 1895, had openly declared himself in favour of the establishment of friendly relations between Germany and the Transvaal. The important issues at stake and the fierce resistance met with explain the magnitude of the military operations, an army of over 200,000 men being transported from England to South Africa to fight under conditions hitherto never met with by any European force. The efforts made to secure victory were also fully justified.² Not only have the Transvaal and the Orange Free State become with Cape Colony and Natal one of Great Britain's dependencies, but the war itself made “the Empire feel its unity,” and, moreover, Rhodesia has been enabled to continue its remarkable development.

The war was certainly not fought in vain, and in 1909 the Union of South Africa was effected,

¹ ‘The Times’ History of the War in South Africa,’ vol. i. p. 2. London : Sampson Low, Marston, & Co., 1900.

² On May 31, 1902, the Peace of Vereeniging ended the war with the annexation by Great Britain of the two Boer Republics.

with the ultimate prospect of the incorporation into it of the magnificent northern state, Rhodesia, the progress of which fully justifies the expectations formed by Cecil Rhodes.

There is no doubt that in the year 1900, when the Boer War was at its height, Great Britain was isolated in Europe.¹ France, Russia, and Germany all adopted an unfriendly attitude during the struggle in South Africa, and it was only England's undisputed naval supremacy that held her jealous neighbours in check. In 1902, however, the year which saw the close of the South African War, was signed a treaty with Japan, the object of which was to safeguard British interests in the Far East, where the Russian advance was causing much anxiety.

Isolation
of Great
Britain,
1900.
Treaty
with
Japan,
1902.

In 1904-5 the Russo-Japanese War took place, and had a remarkable effect upon the grouping of the European Powers. The defeat of Russia strengthened the position of Germany immensely. She suddenly became the most powerful State in Europe. Since the Boer War she had formed an effective navy, and now that the defeat of Russia had upset the balance of power in Europe,

The
results of
the Russo-
Japanese
War,
1904-1905.

¹ The year 1900, however, saw the united forces of the European Powers, together with Japanese troops, occupying Peking and suppressing the Boxer outbreak.

the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy seemed overwhelming. As was only to be expected, England, France, and Russia at once tended to come together, while in face of possible difficulties in Europe it was necessary for England to strengthen, as far as possible, her position in the Far East.

Our
position
in India.

The years 1897-8 had seen widespread disturbances on the North-West Frontier. In January 1899 Lord Curzon of Kedleston succeeded Lord Elgin as Viceroy of India, and his statesmanlike policy on the North-West Frontier has resulted in a long period of peace, and in satisfactory relations with Afghanistan. His period of office, too, was marked by many events of importance to the British Empire. On January 1, 1903, King Edward VII. was proclaimed Emperor of India at Delhi, and the same year Lord Curzon visited Persia, the future destiny of which country is "one of the most uncertain of Asiatic problems." In 1907 a convention was signed with Russia relating to Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, into which country an expedition had in 1904 been sent. In 1905 Lord Minto succeeded Lord Curzon as Governor-General, and during his period of office India was visited by the present King and Queen of Great Britain. The necessity of pro-

viding for the defence of India has justified our occupation of Egypt and Cyprus, our control over the Persian Gulf, and our policing of the Arabian Sea.

In April 1904 an Agreement was come to with France, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. It consisted of three Conventions, two of which dealt with Newfoundland, Nigeria, Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides, and the third with Egypt. The French agreed not to obstruct British policy in Egypt, and Great Britain undertook not to obstruct French policy in Morocco. Thus were removed all grounds of disagreement between Great Britain and France, and the two countries which, since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, had been in constant rivalry in different parts of the world, and at least on two occasions on the verge of war, were now bound together by ties of friendship and interest.

In 1905 an Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded,—an alliance which caused much surprise at the time, and which was subjected to much criticism. The wisdom of this alliance is, however, fully recognised by statesmen of both parties in England. Shortly afterwards, in 1907, an Agreement with Russia ended the long rivalry between

Anglo-French Alliance, 1904.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1905.
Anglo-Russian Agreement, 1907.

the two countries, and no further disputes with regard to the Indian frontier, Tibet, and Persia seem likely to arise. Great Britain, after passing through a period of semi-isolation, is now no longer without allies. She has been fortunate in possessing during the last twenty years such capable Foreign Ministers as the late Lord Salisbury, Lord Lansdowne, and Sir Edward Grey.

Great
Britain's
position
in 1912.

The striking effects of the Russo-Japanese War upon the position of Great Britain and the general situation in Europe are best realised if a comparison is made between the international situation in 1900 and 1912. Great Britain was isolated in 1900, while in 1912 she is on terms of friendship with France and Russia, and her relations with her Colonies are becoming closer each year. In 1905, at the Algeiras Conference, and again in 1911, the Anglo-French alliance has been tested and has stood the test. That alliance and the treaty between Great Britain and Japan have perhaps naturally been resented in Berlin. There is, however, no adequate reason why the real determination of the British people to seek peace and to be on friendly terms with all European Powers should not gradually be appreciated in Germany. The real difficulty in the way of securing that desideratum lies, as ever, in the

inability of certain portions of the German people to understand the British character and British aims. In 1815 British and German troops fought side by side under Wellington and Blücher, and all thoughtful, well-informed, and patriotic Englishmen and Germans look forward to the time when they shall be united in close friendship, as they are by the ties of race.

Since 1870 two ideas or principles have been struggling for the mastery. The one was expressed by Napoleon at St Helena. His aim was, he declared, to form the chief European nations into a confederation, united "by unity of codes, principles, feelings, and interests." To preside over "the Great European Family" a Central Assembly was to be established.¹ The setting up of The Hague Tribunal represents, though at present with hardly adequate results, an effort to carry out Napoleon's ideal.

The
opposing
principles.
Arbitra-
tion in
war.

The opposing principle, which at the present day holds a more or less triumphant position, is that of force. Bismarck represents the opposition to Napoleon's idea of a Concert of Europe. He worked entirely for German unity, and that accomplished, for the preponderance of Germany in the Councils of Europe. "The history of the

¹ 'Cambridge Modern History,' vol. x. p. 1.

past few years," says a writer in 'The Round Table,'—" . . . violations of the Act of the Congress of Berlin, of the Act of Algenciras, the Agadir incident, the seizure of Tripoli,—prove the bankruptcy of the attempt to govern the affairs of the civilised world by voluntary respect for the sanctity of international treaties." The Bismarckian principle, "that might, not law, must be the foundation of the European policy," is accepted by Europe generally, though unwillingly, and it is hoped that in the course of the next few years the idea of the Concert of Europe will take its place.

Conclu-
sion.

Thus at present, "so long as nationalism lasts, there are only two possible policies—the Bismarckian and the British. One looks to force as the solvent of conflicts of interest, the other to friendly agreement and co-operation." The future of European civilisation depends upon the ability of Great Britain to unite closely with her Colonies, to develop the backward races in her scattered dominions, and to give them self-government as soon as they are ready to govern themselves. If she carries out this policy, if she continues to recognise her imperial responsibilities, and if she maintains an efficient army and navy, she may eventually see the abolition of war and the establishment of universal peace.

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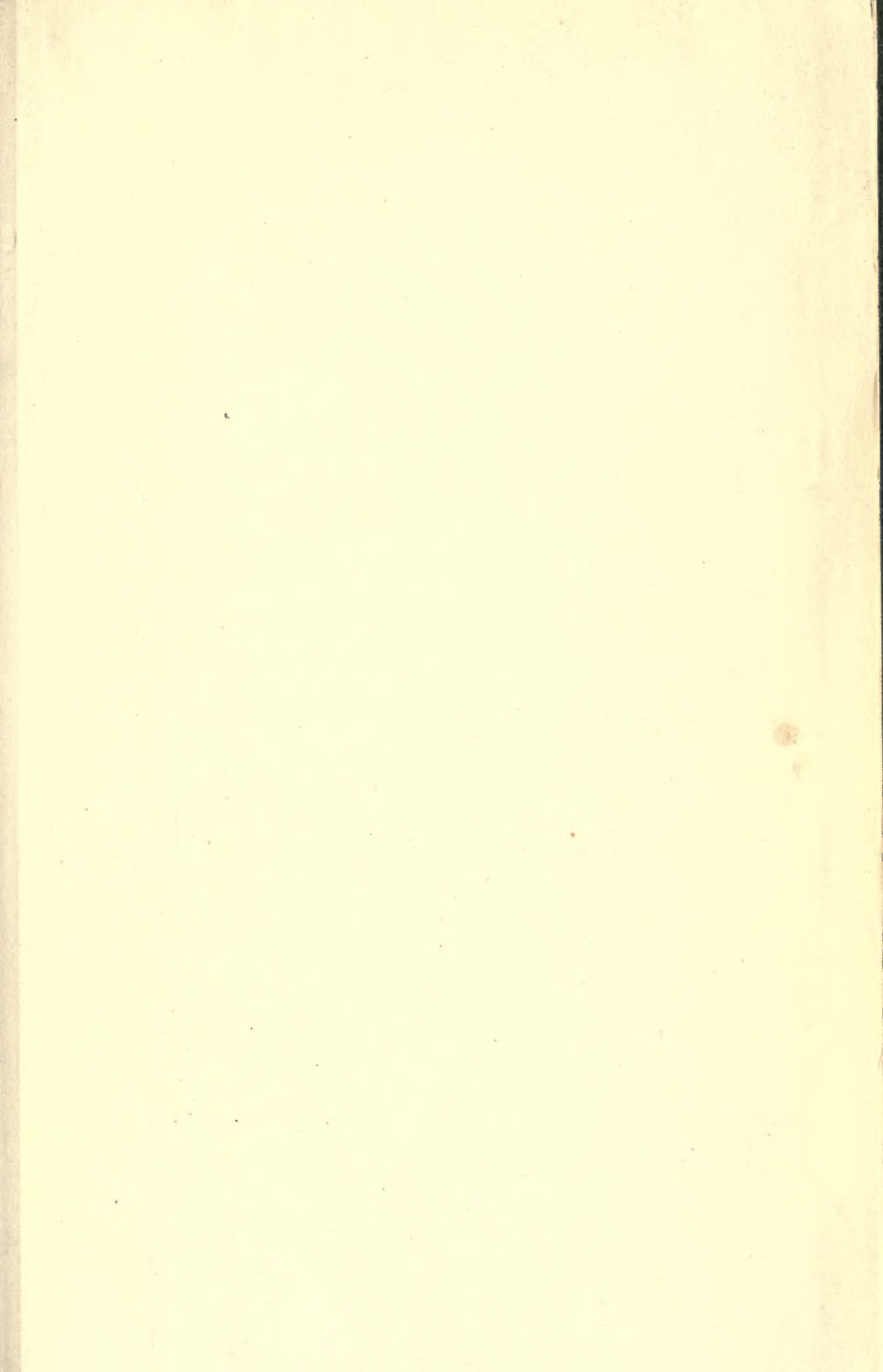
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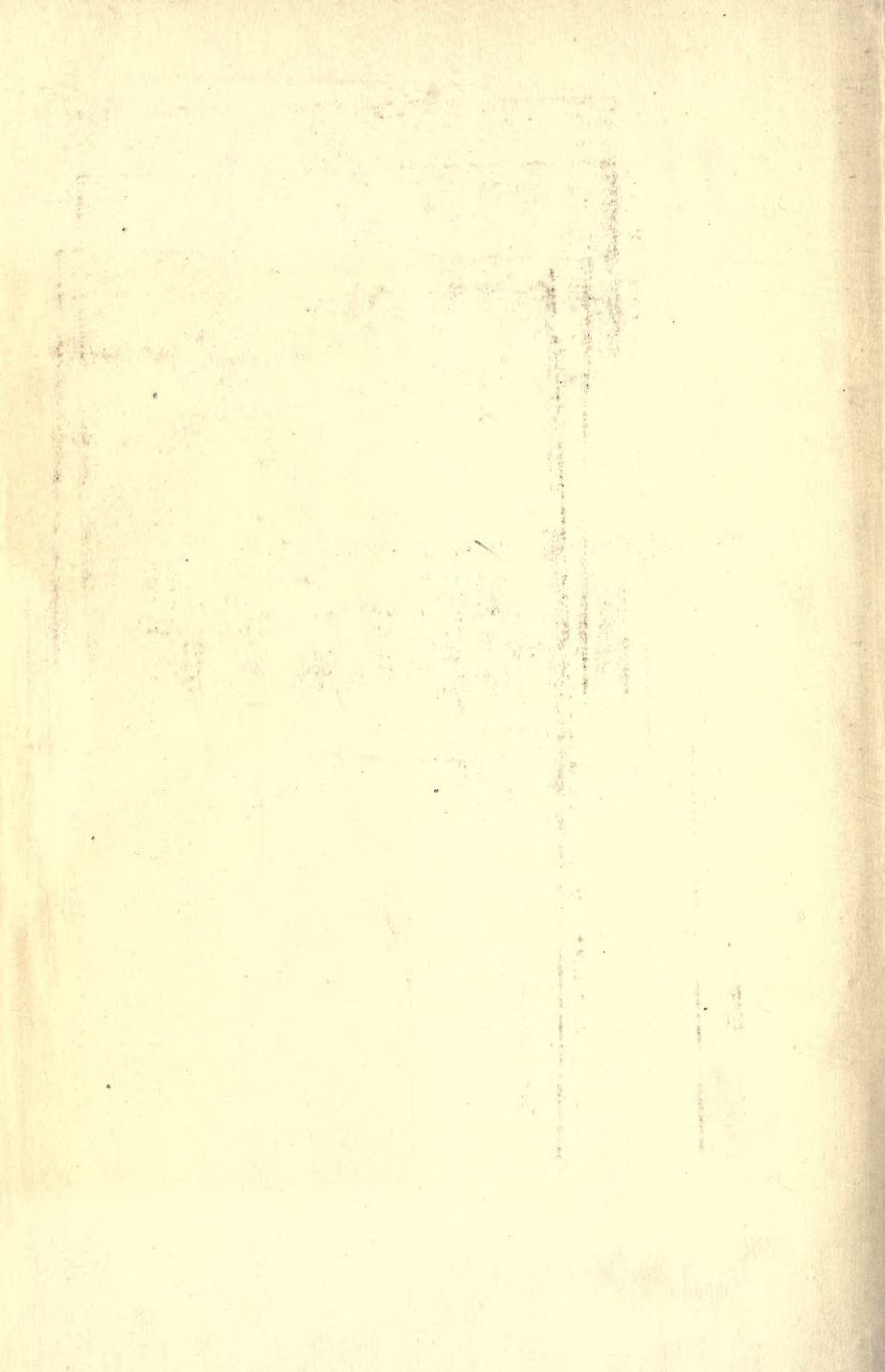
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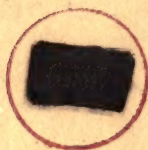
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